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THE LIFE

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN;

FROM

HIS BIRTH TO HIS INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT.

BY

WARD H. LAMON.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages I have endeavored to give the life of Abraham Lincoln, from his birth to his inauguration as President of the United States. The reader will judge the character of the performance by the work itself: for that reason I shall spare him the perusal of much prefatory explanation.

At the time of Mr. Lincoln's death, I determined to write his history, as I had in my possession much valuable material for such a purpose. I did not then imagine that any person could have better or more extensive materials than I possessed. I soon learned, however, that Mr. William H. Herndon of Springfield, Ill., was similarly engaged. There could be no rivalry between us; for the supreme object of both was to make the real history and character of Mr. Lincoln as well known to the public as they were to us. He deplored, as I did, the many publications pretending to be biographies which came teeming from the press so long as the public interest about Mr. Lincoln excited the hope of gain. Out of the mass of works which appeared, of one only — Dr. Holland's — is it possible to speak with any degree of respect.

Early in 1869, Mr. Herndon placed at my disposal his remarkable collection of materials, — the richest, rarest, and fullest collection it was possible to conceive. Along with them came an offer of hearty co-operation, of which I have availed myself so extensively, that no art of mine would serve to conceal it. Added to my own collections, these acquisitions have enabled me to do what could not have been done before, — prepare an authentic biography of Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. Herndon had been the partner in business and the intimate personal associate of Mr. Lincoln for something like a quarter of a century; and Mr

Lincoln had lived familiarly with several members of his family long before their individual acquaintance began. New Salem, Springfield, the old judicial circuit, the habits and friends of Mr. Lincoln, were as well known to Mr. Herndon as to himself. With these advantages, and from the numberless facts and hints which had dropped from Mr. Lincoln during the confidential intercourse of an ordinary lifetime, Mr. Herndon was able to institute a thorough system of inquiry for every noteworthy circumstance and every incident of value in Mr. Lincoln's career.

The results of Mr. Herndon's labors are garnered in three enormous volumes of original manuscripts and a mass of unarranged letters and papers. They comprise the recollections of Mr. Lincoln's nearest friends; of the surviving members of his family and his family-connections; of the men still living who knew him and his parents in Kentucky; of his schoolfellows, neighbors, and acquaintances in Indiana; of the better part of the whole population of New Salem; of his associates and relatives at Springfield; and of lawyers, judges, politicians, and statesmen everywhere, who had anything of interest or moment to relate. They were collected at vast expense of time, labor, and money, involving the employment of many agents, long journeys, tedious examinations, and voluminous correspondence. Upon the value of these materials it would be impossible to place an estimate. That I have used them conscientiously and justly is the only merit to which I lay claim.

As a general thing, my text will be found to support itself; but whether this particular authority be mentioned or not, it is proper to remark, that each statement of fact is fully sustained by indisputable evidence remaining in my possession. My original plan was to verify every important statement by more or more appropriate citations; but it was early abandoned, not because it imposed unwelcome labor, but because it encumbered my pages with a great array of obscure names, which the reader would probably pass unnoticed.

I dismiss this volume into the world, with no claim for it of literary excellence, but with the hope that it will prove what it purports to be, — a faithful record of the life of Abraham Lincoln down to the 4th of March, 1861.

WARD H. LAMON

WASHINGTON CITY, MD., 1872.

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LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

XV

LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER I.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born on the [illegible] February, 1809. His father's name was Thomas [illegible]coln, and his mother's maiden name was Nancy Hanks. At the time of his birth, they are supposed [illegible] about three years. Although there appears to have [illegible] little sympathy or affection between [illegible] Lincoln, they were nevertheless connected by [illegible]ciations which make the previous history of [illegible] and his family a necessary part of an [illegible]raphy of the great man who immortalized [illegible]ing it.

Thomas Lincoln's ancestors were among the [illegible] of Rockingham County in Virginia; but [illegible] came, [illegible] of their settlement [illegible] sible to [illegible]. They were undoubtedly of English [illegible] whether emigrants directly from England to Virginia [illegible] offshoot of the historic Lincoln family in Massachusetts [illegible] of the highly-respectable Lincoln family in Pennsylvania [illegible] questions left entirely to conjecture. We have [illegible] evidence by which to [illegible] himself stoutly denied that his [illegible] were [illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible]
[illegible] being who had [illegible]
its original possessor.

Dr. Holland, who, [illegible] tered most extensively [illegible]
that the father of [illegible]
no another [illegible]
as to the [illegible] He [illegible]
passed a great part [illegible]
Lincoln, tell us that [illegible] name [illegible]
and so also does Col. Chapman, [illegible]
step-daughter. The rest of the [illegible]
unable to assign him any name [illegible]
further, that this Abraham [illegible]
Jacob, John, Isaac, [illegible]
see, where his descendants [illegible]
Kentucky after his brother [illegible]
were so [illegible] to have [illegible]
less trace, [illegible]
there are [illegible]
ham Lincoln, — [illegible]
emigrated. One of the [illegible]
the brother referred [illegible]
the nation, and [illegible]
[illegible] were [illegible]
government, viz. Abraham [illegible]
congress from Illinois, [illegible]
[illegible] in prosecuting [illegible]
said, by which [illegible]
fully acknowledged on both sides. [illegible]
copy of it is now in existence. For [illegible] 750000
Virginians was lost or destroyed [illegible]
family, with perfect unanimity [illegible]
Confederate States, and suffe[illegible]
of which these interesting pape[illegible]

[1] The fate of [illegible]

[illegible] to find the [illegible]
ay Simon Kenton [illegible]
corn, to see how [illegible]
grow beside its [illegible]
day leaun; [illegible]
little assemblage of [illegible]
fruitfulness of [illegible]
footstep behind him. [illegible]
united their fortunes [illegible]
them became the chief [illegible]
trail had been [illegible] Ohio, [illegible]
and from both [illegible]
and settlers to join [illegible] Bar[illegible]
of relinquishing [illegible]
and desperate struggle. [illegible]
which fed innumerable [illegible]
year round, the grandeur of its primeval [illegible]
tains, and abundant springs — [illegible]
to them then to the whites. [illegible]
possession of it; and no tribe, or confederacy [illegible]
ever been able to hold it to the exclusion of [illegible]
from time immemorial, the northern and southern [illegible]
and western Indians had met each other [illegible]
mutually shedding the blood [illegible]
husbanded for the more deadly conflict [illegible]
The character of this savage warfare had [illegible] Kentucky
the appellation of "the dark and bloody ground" [illegible]
that the whites had fairly begun their encroachments [illegible]
the Indians were resolved that the phrase [illegible]
of its old significance. White settlers began [illegible]
upon fighting for their lives as well as [illegible]

Boone did not make his final settlement in 1775 [illegible]
Lincolns came about 1780. This was [illegible]
after Clark's expedition into Illinois; and [illegible]
before St. Clair's defeat and Wayne's victory. Now [illegible]
whole of the north-west territory was [illegible]
Indians. Kentucky volunteers had yet before them [illegible]

men who were [illegible] in the [illegible]
distant [illegible] but he never the only [illegible]
[illegible]ary.

On the journey [illegible] Lafayette [illegible]
many hardships and encountered [illegible]
ing several skirmishes with the [illegible]
Mercer County, but [illegible]
Their course was a rough [illegible]
in the midst of a vast forest [illegible]
their settlement [illegible]
and were [illegible]
while the other [illegible]
another field [illegible]
work, which [illegible]
the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

His vagrant career had supplied him with [illegible] fund of anecdotes, which he [illegible] to sit about at "stores" [illegible] yarns," — a propensity which [illegible] him extremely popular. In politics [illegible] Jackson Democrat. In religion he was [illegible] a member of various denominations [illegible] Baptist in Kentucky, a Presbyterian in Indiana [illegible] ple — vulgarly called Campbellite — in Illinois [illegible] communion he seems to have died.

It ought, perhaps, to be mentioned that [illegible] and Kentucky his name was commonly [illegible] horn," and in Indiana "Linckhorn." [illegible] eral, that Tom Lincoln came very near [illegible] altogether. As he never wrote it at all [illegible] riage, and wrote it then [illegible] spelled one way or the other [illegible] there, who had a small account [illegible] properly "Lincoln," "Linckhorn," [illegible] definitely settled until after Abraham [illegible] as one of the neighbors [illegible] and corrected the pronunciation [illegible]

By the middle of 1806, [illegible] knowledge of the carpenter's [illegible] account; but his achievements [illegible] those of his [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Nance, [illegible] who [illegible] refused, was [illegible] a brunette, with dark hair, regular [illegible] hazel eyes. Too long had she [illegible] but hard labor [illegible] imparted [illegible] the period of her [illegible] face were equally [illegible] ful expression [illegible] of her son in repose.

By her family, her [illegible] wonderful. John Hart [illegible] intellectual force [illegible] seat of [illegible] erty of her husband [illegible] certainly very great [illegible] indignant that she could act [illegible] of these arts placed her [illegible] little while ago. [illegible] of acquiring them. He [illegible] nest, having a competent mistress [illegible] much effort she taught him what [illegible] and how to put them together [illegible] Henceforth he signed no more [illegible] nowhere stated that he ever [illegible] to read either written or [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

It [illegible] two [illegible] a daughter [illegible] was [illegible] death [illegible]

But [illegible] work. [illegible] shortly after [illegible] piece of land [illegible] from Hodgson [illegible] about thirteen [illegible] had, or [illegible] papers at hand. It [illegible] pay for it. It was [illegible] formed a part [illegible] destitute of [illegible] spots by a young [illegible] ory. On every side [illegible] bushes, and a [illegible] farm, describes as [illegible] had a piece of [illegible] would hardly have [illegible] appearance of the [illegible] A few small but [illegible] utaries — wondered [illegible] generally what [illegible] terspersed by [illegible] but, except the [illegible] was suffi[illegible] no grand, [illegible] bodies of [illegible] Here it was [illegible] ordinary living [illegible]

The [illegible] which [illegible]

equally insignificant. He [illegible] ter, and a die of [illegible] John Hicks [illegible] of life with [illegible] died at [illegible] Mr. Scott. The [illegible] died and [illegible] mere special [illegible] remained [illegible] to him [illegible] hundred acres [illegible] ing thirty-eight [illegible] discloses what [illegible] He [illegible] interest in [illegible] for taxes. The [illegible] this land, [illegible] after which, [illegible] relatives of Marion.

In the mean time, Dennis H[illegible] young Abraham, now approaching [illegible] mysteries of fishing, and [illegible] down the [illegible] were so pure that a wise person [illegible] of ten feet. On Nolin [illegible] dear boy, who has [illegible] played a [illegible] dabbled in the water [illegible] with a little companion, [illegible] when attempting to [illegible] over on a sycamore-tree, [illegible] into deep water, was [illegible] the other boy. But, with all [illegible] serious and sad. Well, he [illegible] to suffer and endure, and [illegible] which developed both [illegible] singular and astonishing capacity [illegible]

There is not [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] great reluctance and [illegible]

In his family Bible [illegible] and deaths, every [illegible] handwriting. [illegible] his own, of the [illegible] death of his mother [illegible] Lincoln. The rest [illegible] to the Johnstons and the [illegible] nections. It has not a word [illegible] rows. It shows the [illegible] Johnston, and then with [illegible] silent as to the marriage [illegible] even give the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] is filled by [illegible]

[illegible]

THOMAS LINCOLN [illegible] the frequent changes [illegible] made his life so barren of [illegible] the temptation to the [illegible] accordingly made one, or perhaps [illegible] in the company and employment of [illegible] probably a near relative of [illegible] very natural, that when, in the [illegible] mined to emigrate, he should at [illegible] by water. He built himself a [illegible] been none of the best and launched [illegible] at the mouth of Knob Creek, a [illegible] Some of his personal property, including [illegible] he put on board, and the rest he traded [illegible] gallons of whiskey. With this crazy [illegible] cargo, he put out into the stream alone [illegible] the current down the Rolling Fork, one [illegible] River, reached the Ohio without any mishap. [illegible] proved somewhat rickety when [illegible] culties of the larger stream, or perhaps [illegible] force in the management of her, or perhaps [illegible] tor had consoled himself during the long [illegible] frequent applications to a portion of [illegible] events, the boat capsized, and the lading [illegible] He fished up a few of the tools [illegible] and, righting the little boat, again floated down [illegible] at Thompson's Ferry, two and a half miles west [illegible]

A few [illegible]
between [illegible]
a mile and a half [illegible]
ay afterwards, [illegible]
habitants. The [illegible]
forest of oaks, [illegible]
the varieties [illegible]
woods were as [illegible]
trees were of [illegible]
shades they [illegible]
The natural grazing [illegible]
sustenance in the [illegible]
occasionally a little glade [illegible]
of this vast expanse [illegible]
the Lincoln place, [illegible]
hunters knew [illegible]
prairie the [illegible]
from it the south [illegible]
known as the "Prairie [illegible]

Lincoln laid off his cottage [illegible]
slope on every side. The [illegible]
soil was excellent. The selection was [illegible]
but one. There was no water [illegible]
in holes in the ground after a [illegible]
had to be strained before using. [illegible]
Abraham and his stepfather carried [illegible]
situated a mile away. Dennis Hanks [illegible]
coln "riddled his seat like a honeycomb [illegible]
water, and was at last solely [illegible]
who came around with a dipping-gourd [illegible]
the small consideration of two dollars [illegible]
his rod point to a cool flowing [illegible]

Here Lincoln built a half-[illegible] —
on three sides and open [illegible]
logs, but of poles, and was [illegible]
to distinguish it from a [illegible]
square, and had no [illegible]

sweeping into this [illegible] the Indians had opened [illegible] Indiana was admitted into the Union [illegible] lation of sixty-five thousand. [illegible] Lincoln settled was Perry, [illegible] he soon found himself in the [illegible] court-house at Rockport, [illegible] thriving village of Gentry[illegible] his door.

A post-office was established [illegible] 1825. Dennis Hanks [illegible] the first storeroom. The [illegible] Turnham, now of Dale, Spencer [illegible] esting and perfectly authentic [illegible] lage and the settlements [illegible]

"Yours of the 5th [illegible] answer several questions [illegible] early settlement of Indiana [illegible]

"When my father came [illegible] tled in Spencer County, [illegible] then a wilderness [illegible] such as [illegible] schools [illegible]

"We [illegible] hand-[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] which [illegible]
of the Genera[illegible]

"[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] with [illegible]
Secretary's [illegible]
Thomas [illegible]
under the [illegible]

"1. The [illegible]
3. South [illegible]
[illegible]

"2. Afterwards [illegible]
the United States [illegible]
and the [illegible]
[illegible] payment [illegible]
of Section [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

following, regarding its [illegible]

Danville, Illinois.

WARD H. LOMBARD, [illegible]

DEAR SIR: [illegible] you with my theory in [illegible] a general statement of [illegible] cases.

I have quite a number of cases [illegible] ity; but perhaps you [illegible] in this region of country [illegible] in the existence of the disease in Ver[illegible] opinion, that, instead of [illegible] with which we here have to [illegible] country, we have too much [illegible] ment, that in many parts of [illegible] more than fifty years ago, and [illegible] system of Nosology.

In the spring of [illegible] sickness prevails, cattle, sheep, [illegible] ture-lands, and, where these pastures [illegible] disappears. This has often been [illegible] ion Country, Illinois. From this [illegible] origin. But it appears that [illegible] localities; and I am informed [illegible] showed itself in the winter time [illegible] due to by water holding some [illegible] some vegetable producing the [illegible] on which the cattle were fed at the [illegible] habit of cutting wild grass for their stock [illegible] cause to a vegetable origin.

The symptoms of what is called milk [illegible] those described by authors who have [illegible] ern country — are a whitish coat on the tongue [illegible] vomiting, obstinate constipation of the bowel [illegible] ness and pulsation, pulse rather hard [illegible] slightly corded. In the course of the disease [illegible] and d. &, the countenance depicted, and the [illegible] termination may take place in sixty hours, or [illegible] days. These are the symptoms of the acute form of the [illegible] the chronic form, or it may assume that form [illegible] or years, the patient may finally die, or to [illegible]

The treatment which I have found most [illegible] opium, given at intervals of two, three [illegible] strong, under the influence of opium by [illegible] ministered, some efficacious mixture [illegible] stomach will retain it; blisters to the [illegible] tered throughout the disease, and quin[illegible] after [illegible]

Under the above treatment, modified [illegible] pect to lose more than one case in eight or [illegible] county. . . .

[illegible]

[illegible] has p[illegible]
[illegible] have some [illegible]
[illegible] instances the [illegible]
[illegible] great [illegible] than I [illegible]
With this exception, [illegible]
never had a stone, no [illegible]
the neighbors still dis[illegible]
hollows contains the [illegible]

Thirteen months [illegible]
or ten months after the [illegible]
Thomas Lincoln appeared [illegible]
of another wife. Sally B[illegible]
jailer, in the spring of the same [illegible]
married Nancy Hanks. [illegible]
ter match, but was now a widow. In 1817 [illegible]
and about Elizabethtown had [illegible]
ple called the "cold plague" [illegible]
Both parties being free again, [illegible]
pectedly to Mrs. Johnston, and [illegible]
ingly abrupt manner. "Well, Mrs. [illegible]
have no wife, and you have no husband. [illegible]
marry you: I knowed you from a [illegible]
from a [illegible]. I have no time to lose; [illegible]
it be done straight off." To this she [illegible]
know you well, and have no objection [illegible]
I cannot do it straight off, as I owe some [illegible]
be paid." "The next morning," says Hon. [illegible]
the clerk of the courts and [illegible]
quaint courtship, "I issued [illegible]
ried *straight* off on that day, and [illegible]
or Tom Lincoln since." From [illegible]
that day, she had been living [illegible]
round log-cabin, which stood [illegible]
Hayerah's house. Dennis Hanks says [illegible]
the earnest solicitation of her friends [illegible]
consented to marry Lincoln. [illegible]
was with a member of her fa[illegible]

Sarah [illegible]
name [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
the [illegible]
wonder [illegible]
she [illegible]
language [illegible]
face." [illegible]
and [illegible]
could [illegible]
able good sense [illegible]
neat and [illegible]
[illegible]
young [illegible]
[illegible]
then [illegible]
him [illegible]
[illegible]

Ab[illegible]

[illegible]

Mo[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Hav[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

shake with fear. [illegible]

[illegible]

was [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

his face: I [illegible]

letter *g* into [illegible]

out. I [illegible]

Nat Gr[illegible]

essays and [illegible]

took [illegible]

sentences [illegible]

ward with [illegible]

very much [illegible]

who were [illegible]

ends of fire [illegible]

fell as [illegible]

The fire [illegible]

[illegible] Mr. Sa[illegible] 1820. [illegible]

four and [illegible]

a distance [illegible]

tendance was [illegible] it [illegible]

broken off altogethe[illegible] [illegible]

other one near the [illegible]

that [illegible] had two [illegible]

instruction we [illegible]

ford, save that Sa[illegible]

ment of a manner [illegible]

the settler who had [illegible]

"we would choose [illegible]

night." Hoskins [illegible]

long [illegible]

sorry for his [illegible]

[illegible] book [illegible]
dingly [illegible]
on [illegible]
would [illegible]
it there [illegible]
look at it, repeat it [illegible]
book, in which he [illegible]
them."

John Hanks came [illegible]
teen years of age, and [illegible]
We cannot describe some of [illegible]
has described them [illegible]
returned to the house from [illegible]
snatch a piece of corn-bread [illegible]
a chair, cock his legs up high [illegible]
I worked barefooted, [illegible]
dled together; [illegible]
Abraham read constantly when [illegible]

Among the books upon which [illegible]
"Æsop's Fables," "Robinson [illegible]
Progress," a "History of the [illegible]
"Life of Washington." [illegible]
transferred extracts from the [illegible]
book. He had procured the [illegible]
literature was borrowed, and [illegible]
copious notes from the books [illegible]
Turnham had bought a volume [illegible] The [illegible]
Indiana;" but, as he was [illegible]
could not lend it to Abe. [illegible] Abe was [illegible]
his purpose of going through and [illegible]
neighborhood; and so, says Mr. Turnham, [illegible]
to my house and sat and read it [illegible]
fain have us believe that he [illegible]
book, and that he had stood [illegible]
Abe in the science of law [illegible]

[1] He also read at Turnham's house [illegible]

MRS. SARAH LINCOLN, MOTHER OF THE PRESIDENT.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

If no [illegible] taken to [illegible] maker a [illegible]

The state of [illegible] is no market [illegible] few and primitive [illegible] The Pigeon Creek [illegible] a day with his [illegible] cut one acre [illegible] down in neat rows [illegible] threshed out [illegible] to-day, with [illegible] and fifty. He [illegible] he wanted flour, he [illegible]

[illegible]

S[illegible]

Wit[illegible]

[illegible] education he learnt [illegible]

the world over. Many of [illegible]

many of their [illegible]

of subjects were [illegible]

that unique character [illegible]

the American people, was [illegible]

it was noble and [illegible]

His most intimate [illegible]

time, the members of [illegible]

knows something of [illegible]

good woman, Sally Bush [illegible] The latter [illegible]

clothed, loved, and encouraged [illegible]

moment he fell in her way [illegible]

ness and affection, he was himself [illegible]

it was a great debt, fondly [illegible]

as far as in him lay, there [illegible]

the child of Nancy Hanks, [illegible]

face somewhat resembled his [illegible]

which they both, perhaps, [illegible]

was capable of being [illegible]

Abe's ridiculous stories [illegible]

was a modest, plain, industrious girl [illegible]

bered by all who knew her. She [illegible]

Grigsby at eighteen, and a year [illegible]

Abe, she occasionally worked [illegible]

bors, and at one time was [illegible]

kitchen, while her brother was [illegible]

She lies buried, not with her mother [illegible]

old Pigeon Creek meeting-house [illegible]

read the encomiums [illegible]

bys; for between the [illegible]

step-brother [illegible]

DENNIS F. HANKS.

honest, truthful man, with [illegible] of the w[illegible] questionable accomplishments of [illegible] Joseph, the carpenter with whom [illegible] trade. He went to Indiana to live [illegible] Abe was fourteen years of age, and became [illegible] He then returned to Kentucky and [illegible] Illinois, where he was specially [illegible] had left in Indiana. When Abe separated [illegible] and went in search of individual fortu[illegible] with "old John." Together they spl[illegible] much to make Abe President, and [illegible] in motion by carrying a part of them [illegible] vention on his own broad shoulders. [illegible] whatever, except that of the muscles [illegible] could neither read nor write, but his [illegible] respectable, and Lincoln esteemed him [illegible] him as a friend and relative.

About six years after the death [illegible] Hall and his wife and family [illegible] the Lincolns. Mrs. Hall was [illegible] our friend Dennis, and [illegible] of Abraham [illegible] and. One of [illegible] Abe's [illegible] the other one [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] Abraham [illegible]

appearance; and that "he [illegible] who was at the same time [illegible] twenty-five cents a day [illegible] not charge for it." This [illegible] reveals the fact that her husband [illegible] Abe on his miserable wages whenever [illegible] few minutes from steady work.

The time came, however, when Abe [illegible] all this petty brutality. Crawford was [illegible] surly. His nose was a monstrosity [illegible] a huge, misshapen "stub" at the end, [illegible] of pimples, and the whole as [illegible] Mr. Crawford's spirits. Upon this [illegible] attack in rhyme, song, and "chronicle," and [illegible] not reduce the nose, he gave it a [illegible] bash and the Ohio. It is not improbable that [illegible] art of making the doggerel rhymes in which [illegible] Crawford's nose from the study of Crawford [illegible] tucky Preceptor." At all events his [illegible] topic achieved him great reputation as [illegible] and caused Crawford intolerable anguish.

It is likely that Abe was reconciled to his [illegible] family by the presence of his sister, and the [illegible] gave him of being in the company of Mrs. Crawford [illegible] he had a genuine attachment; for she was [illegible] husband was, and every thing that he was not. According [illegible] her account, he split rails, ploughed, threshed, and [illegible] ever else he was ordered to do; but she distinctly [illegible] "Abe was no hand to pitch into his work like [illegible] He went about it "calmly," and generally took [illegible] nity to throw "Crawford" down two or three times [illegible] they went to the field." It is fair to presume, that, when [illegible] managed to inveigle his disagreeable employer [illegible] he hoisted him high and threw him hard, for he [illegible] had no reason to be careful of his bones. After [illegible] "hung about," lingered long to gossip and joke [illegible]

[illegible] quently devised the [illegible] in great [illegible] turkeys and [illegible] sides these were [illegible] The scream of the [illegible] of the cat kind [illegible] dark night, as [illegible] Woods, or the Gentry [illegible] not only to the natural [illegible] but, heard in the [illegible] a feeling of superstitious horror [illegible] bravest.

Everybody about [illegible] Tom Lincoln and Dennis Hanks do [illegible] tinually with wonderful [illegible] but he was no hunter himself, and [illegible] true, that, when a mere child he made [illegible] flock of wild turkeys, through [illegible] "half-faced cabin;"[2] and that, when [illegible] coons occasionally with Richards [illegible] with Turnham; but a true and hearty [illegible] was [illegible] practised on this wild border [illegible] sociable way of spending time, which [illegible] and, besides, it required more exertion than he [illegible] make without due compensation. [illegible] was indolent; for he was alert, brisk and [illegible] that he made up his mind to do. His [illegible] and, when he had a sufficient object in [illegible]

[1] "No Indians there when I first went to Indiana. [illegible] deer, turkey, and coon, wild cats, and other things. [illegible] big [illegible]

[2] "You say, What were some of the customs? I can [illegible] gether. One thing I can tell you about: we had to a [illegible] keep body and soul together, and every spare time we had [illegible] brought in a fine deer or turkey; and in the winter time we [illegible] skins were at that time considered legal tender, and deer-skins [illegible] I enjoyed myself better then than I ever have since." — DENNIS [illegible]

[3] "No doubt about the A. Lincoln's killing the turkey. He done it [illegible] side, made by William Lates of Bullitt County. [illegible] with her myself, turkey too at [illegible]" — DENNIS [illegible]

among the first and earliest at all the neighborhood [illegible] when his tall, singular figure was seen towering [illegible] hunting-shirts, it was considered due notice that [illegible] about to commence. "Abe Linkhern," as he was [illegible] called, made things lively wherever he went; and, if [illegible] blue nose happened to have been carried to the [illegible] quickly subsided, on his arrival, into some obscure [illegible] the implacable "Linkhern" was apt to make it [illegible] of a jest that would set the company in a roar. But [illegible] party was made up, and Abe left out, as sometimes [illegible] through the influence of Crawford, he sulked, [illegible] mad," nursed his anger into rage, and then broke out [illegible] or "chronicles," which were frequently very bitter, [illegible] passably humorous, and invariably vulgar.

At an early age he began to attend the "preachings" [illegible] about, but principally at the Pigeon Creek church with a [illegible] to catching whatever might be ludicrous in the [illegible] or matter, and making it the subject of mimicry [illegible] could collect an audience of idle boys and men to hear [illegible] A pious stranger, passing that way on a Sunday morning, [illegible] invited to preach for the Pigeon Creek congregation; [illegible] banged the boards of the old pulpit, and [illegible] so wonderfully, that Abe could hardly contain [illegible] memorable sermon was a great favorite with him; and [illegible] quently reproduced it with nasal tones, rolling [illegible] manner of droll aggravations, to the great [illegible] Grigsby and the wild fellows whom Nat was [illegible] None that heard him, nor even Nat himself, [illegible] thing but dullness was ever able to show [illegible] version really departed from the original.

The importance of Gentryville as a [illegible] soon began to possess the imagination of the [illegible] the two Pigeon Creeks. Why [illegible] of trade? Mr. Gentry was a [illegible] advantageously situated where [illegible] had a blacksmith's shop [illegible]

[illegible] in his serv[illegible]
to even to selling th[illegible]
Mr Jones was [illegible]
appreciated his humo[illegible]
him. As he did not [illegible]
of considerable influence [illegible]
views of the nature of [illegible]
Jackson may himself be [illegible]
delivered by that great [illegible]
this teaching were [illegible]
mind. Whilst he [illegible]
corded with Mr Jones's [illegible]
in Illinois John Hanks [illegible]
for trudging Jackson. He [illegible]
whenever he could [illegible]
into his hands the [illegible]
Mr Abe's appetite was [illegible]
satisfied: and he [illegible]
Well! "who lived [illegible]
[illegible] whom he [illegible]

What manner of [illegible]
[illegible] informed [illegible]
would have [illegible]
[illegible] Mr Jones [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] of rare [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

of profane ballads and amor[illegible] a vast number. When Denn[illegible] passed the bounds of propriety [illegible] of raising a charming carol in [illegible] into the Mussulman's estate [illegible] vouchsafed us only three lines, —

> "The turbaned Turk that [illegible]
> An' struts about with his [illegible]
> For no other man but him [illegible]

It was a prime favorite of Abe's [illegible] such appropriate zest and feeling [illegible] gle word of it while he lived.

Another was, —

> "Hail Columbia happy land!
> If you ain't drunk, I'll be damned."

a song which Dennis thinks should be [illegible] "fields;" and tells us that they knew and [illegible] [songs] as this." Dave Turnham was also a musical [illegible] and had a "piece" beginning, —

> "There was a Romish lady
> Brought up in popery,"

which Abe thought one of the best he ever heard, and [illegible] sisted upon Dave's singing it for the delectation of [illegible] Lincoln, who relished it quite as much as Abe did.[1]

Mrs. Crawford says, that Abe did not attempt to sing [illegible]

[1] "I recollect some more: —

> 'Come, thou Fount of every blessing,
> Tune my heart to sing thy praise.'
>
> 'When I can read my title clear
> To mansions in the skies!'
>
> 'How tedious and tasteless the hours.'
>
> 'Oh! to grace how great a debtor'

Other little songs I won't say any thing about; they would not look well in print but I could give them."—DENNIS HANKS

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
And [illegible]

In 1820 Abe's sister [illegible] Aaron Gregsby; and the [illegible] memorable by a song entitled [illegible] Sonny," which many [illegible] The conceits embodied in the [illegible] was born; but there is some [illegible] evidence to show that the [illegible] sung by the whole Lincoln [illegible] and since, but by nobody else [illegible]

ADAM AND EVE'S WEDDING.

When Adam was created he dwelt in Paradise
As Moses has recorded, and [illegible]
Ten thousand times a hundred
Of creatures swarmed around
Before a bride was formed,
And yet no mate was found.

The Lord then was not willing
The man should be alone,
But caused a sleep upon him,
And took from him a bone,

And closed the flesh in the place of it,
And then he took the same,
And of it made a woman,
And brought her to the man.

Then Adam he rejoiced
To see his loving bride,
A part of his own body,
The product of his side.

This woman was not taken
From Adam's feet, we see;
So he must not abuse her,
The meaning [illegible] to be

Abe wrote many [illegible] and [illegible] are only remembered in fragments by a [illegible] in the neighborhood. Even if we had them [illegible] of them too indecent for publication [illegible] the character of "a piece" which [illegible] "exceedingly humorous and witty," [illegible] wherein Brother Harper and Sister Gordon [illegible] seeking judgment. It was very coarse, but [illegible] bly to raise a laugh in the grocery at the expense of [illegible]

His chronicles were many, and on a great [illegible] jects. They were written, as his early admirers [illegible] us, "in the scriptural style," but [illegible] very limited acquaintance with the model [illegible] ters" was celebrated every event of [illegible] place in the neighborhood: weddings [illegible] nose, Sister Gordon's innocence, Brother [illegible] dished up, fresh and gross, for [illegible] groundlings.

Charles and Reuben Grigsby were [illegible] time, and, being brothers, returned [illegible] then brides upon the same day. [illegible] dance, the ostentatious [illegible] were conducted in [illegible] in the United States [illegible] Squire Western [illegible] and was very [illegible] seat in a nightspread [illegible] "The Christ[illegible]

But even [illegible] for [illegible] for [illegible] about [illegible] sting in [illegible] after [illegible] Mrs. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] was humorous [illegible] other speeches [illegible] always. He [illegible] Revised Sta[illegible] and listened [illegible] low man. He [illegible] one mile west of [illegible] and tell his jokes [illegible] ginal, and humorous [illegible] would gather around [illegible] midnight. I would get [illegible] hearty. Abe was a [illegible] kind of newsboy.

Boonville was [illegible] and was situated about [illegible] Abe walked whenever he [illegible] of the court, where he [illegible] ness, amuse himself [illegible] news and gossip, which [illegible] when he returned home [illegible] watched, with [illegible] trial, in which a Mr. John Breckenridge [illegible] fence. At the conclusion of [illegible] listened, literally entranced, [illegible] and ventured to compliment him on the success of [illegible] "Breckenridge looked at the [illegible] passed on his way. But many [illegible] when Abe was President, and [illegible] Texas, probably [illegible] second time: when [illegible] I up to that time had ever heard [illegible] thought, make as good a speech [illegible] satisfied."

[illegible]

[illegible] recommend [illegible]
to order [illegible]
[illegible] treatise. [illegible]
ance, which Mr. Wood [illegible]
thing that the paper [illegible]
the agency of a Boston [illegible]
whom it was published. [illegible]
Wood and his *protégé* [illegible]
politics," saying that [illegible]
best form of government [illegible]
ought to be kept sound, [illegible]
education should be [illegible]
that the Constitution should [illegible]
and the laws revered, respected [illegible]
was consigned, like the [illegible] to Mr. Wood [illegible]
him before the public. [illegible]
to pass that way, and, [illegible]
"piece," pithily and [illegible]
can't beat it." He begged [illegible]
some obscure paper: this [illegible]
most extraordinary [illegible]

But in 1828 Abe had become [illegible]
was now nineteen years of [illegible]
restive under the restraints of [illegible]
He was anxious to try the world [illegible]
way according to his own notions. [illegible]
one day," says Mr. Wood, "and [illegible]
shy. I knew he wanted *some* [illegible]
what's your case?" He replied, [illegible]
to the river, and give me some [illegible]
I remarked, "Abe, your age [illegible]
twenty yet." "I know that, but [illegible]
I concluded not to go for the [illegible]
Tom still had a claim upon [illegible]
would not help him to [illegible]

unless he had k[illegible] astronomy. He of[illegible] about what he had rea[illegible] as he went along, [illegible] boy among us unlearned [illegible] plain: could do it so simply. [illegible]

The trip of Gentry [illegible] and Mr. Gentry, serio[illegible] Abe displayed his genius [illegible] putting off on the innocent folk [illegible] terfeit money which a shrewd [illegible] Allen. Allen thought his father [illegible] suffering himself to be [illegible] the reflection that [illegible] had money they took in [illegible] brought the prop[illegible] amount [illegible]

At Madame [illegible] Rouge, they had an [illegible] on the life of th[illegible] to the shore, [illegible] Allen were fast asleep [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1829 [illegible]

[illegible] house with [illegible] W[illegible]

[illegible] house was [illegible]

[illegible] the north fork of [illegible]

[illegible] yoke of oxen and [illegible]

[illegible] good suit rails enough [illegible]

Abe was now [illegible] Wood to [illegible]

something more than [illegible]

Day was now again [illegible]

well if he chose. At [illegible]

for him to begin [illegible]

him some pain to leave [illegible]

that, all the old [illegible]

regret. From the moment [illegible]

to go where, and to do what [illegible]

things which lay nearest his heart [illegible]

preferment — was astonishing [illegible]

It is with great pleasure that [illegible]

his family and fortunes, more fortunate [illegible]

pages. After Abraham left home he moved [illegible]

in search of a "healthy" location, and finally [illegible]

fixed near Goose Nest Prairie in Coles [illegible]

of a disease of the kidneys, in 1851, at the age of

seventy-three. The little farm [illegible]

days were ended, he had, with his usual [illegible]

gaged to the School Commissioners [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"What kind of [illegible]
a kind [illegible]
not in [illegible]
brother-[illegible]
work and [illegible]

"Did Thomas [illegible]
man. I never could tell [illegible]
well or not. I don't [illegible]
forward boys. [illegible]
fence when a stranger [illegible]
house. He always [illegible]
loved his children."

"Did any of the [illegible]
Thomas Johnston were [illegible]
daguerreotypes in the [illegible]
except John's boys. [illegible]

"Did you or John H. [illegible]
say this: that John Hunter [illegible]
Indian Agency; and John [illegible]
that he should have one. [illegible]
I think this was the reason [illegible]
place.

"As for myself, I did not [illegible]
only this. I was [illegible]
[illegible]

hous[illegible] and would [illegible]
as a river[illegible]
matter to Abe and [illegible]
friends discussed [illegible]
no slight affair [illegible]
At length they [illegible]
ment was the turning-[illegible]
to receive fifty cents [illegible]
lars divided amongst them [illegible]
wages such as Abe had [illegible]
tempted him [illegible]
went with Gentry [illegible]
and no such [illegible]
But Offutt [illegible]
like this [illegible]

In March [illegible]
Sangamon [illegible]
miles east of Spring[illegible]
and found [illegible]
"Old Town." [illegible]

[illegible]

they arrived at New Salem, a little village des[illegible] scene of the seven eventful years of Mr. Lincoln's [illegible] immediately followed the conclusion of the present [illegible] below New Salem the "boat stuck," for one night and the better part of a day on Rutledge's mill-dam, — one end of [illegible] hanging over the dam, and the other sunk deep in the water behind. Here was a case for Abe's ingenuity, and he exercised it with effect. Quantities of water were being taken in at the stern, the lading was sliding backwards, and everything indicated that the rude craft was in momentary danger of breaking in two, or sinking outright. But Abe suggested some unheard-of expedient for keeping it in place while the cargo was shifted to a borrowed boat, and then, boring a hole in that part of the bottom extending over the dam, and "rigged up" an equally strange piece of machinery for this, and holding it while the water ran out. All New Salem was assembled on shore, watching the progress of this strange experiment, — and with one voice affirm that Abe saved the boat; although nobody is able to tell us precisely how [illegible] adventure turned Abe's thoughts to the class of inventions one of which he had just surmounted; and the result of [illegible] reflections was "an improved method for floating vessels over shoals."[2] Offatt declared that when he got to New Orleans

[1] Many persons at New Salem described to me [illegible]

[2] "Occupying an ordinary and commonplace [illegible] large hall of the Patent Office, [illegible] at once one of the most curious and [illegible] unique and priceless things. This is [illegible] fashioned in wood, by the hand of [illegible] inventor was known simply as a [illegible] nois. Neither his practice nor his politics [illegible] from giving much attention to contrivances [illegible] world, and of profit to himself.

"The design of this invention is suggested [illegible] life, when he went up and down the Mississippi [illegible] some of the dangers and inconveniences [illegible] It is an attempt to make it an easy matter [illegible] sawyers. The main idea is that of an upright [illegible] each side of the hull of the craft, just before [illegible] complicated system of ropes, [illegible] against the sand-bottom [illegible]

MR. LINCOLN AS A FLATBOAT-MAN.

[illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] looked had [illegible] say, knowing it, that [illegible] opinions of slavery. [illegible] May, 1831. I have been [illegible]

Some time in June the [illegible] going up the river, and remained [illegible] St. Louis, where Offutt left them [illegible] ston started on foot for the interior of Illinois. [illegible] ville, twenty-five miles out, Hanks took the [illegible] and Abe and Johnston took that to Coles County, where the Lincoln had moved since Abraham's departure home [illegible].

Abe never worked again in company with his [illegible] relative, good old John Hanks. Here their paths [illegible] Abe's began to ascend the heights, while John's [illegible] along the common level. They were in the Black Hawk War during the same campaign, but not in the same division. But they corresponded, and, from 1833, met at least once a year, until Abe was elected President. Then Abe, delighting to honor those of his relatives who were worthy of it, invited John to go with him to see his step-mother. John also went to the inauguration at Washington, and tells, with pardonable pride, how he "was in his [Abe's] rooms several times." He then retired to his old home in Macon County, until the assassination and the great funeral, when he came to Springfield to look in the blackened face of his old friend, and witness the last ceremonies of his splendid burial.

Scarcely had Abe reached Coles County, and begun to think what next to turn his hand to, when he received a visit from a famous wrestler, one Daniel Needham, who regarded him as a growing rival, and had a fancy to try him a fall or two. He considered himself "the best man" in the country, and the report of Abe's achievements filled his big breast with envious pains. His greeting was friendly and hearty, but his challenge was rough and peremptory. Abe valued his popularity among "the boys" too highly to decline it,

CHAPTER IV.

ON the west bank of the Sangamon River [illegible] north-west of Springfield, a traveller [illegible] Havana will ascend a bluff one hundred [illegible] low-water mark of the stream. On the summit he will see a solitary log-hut. The back-bone of the [illegible] hundred and fifty feet broad where it overlooks [illegible] it widens gradually as it extends westerly toward the [illegible] of an old forest, until it terminates in a broad extent [illegible] meadow. On either side of this hill, and stretching [illegible] north and south, run streams of water in very deep [illegible] and tumble into the Sangamon almost within [illegible] the hill, or more properly the bluff, rises from the [illegible] almost perpendicular ascent. There is an old mill [illegible] foot of the bluff, driven by water-power. For [illegible] the base of the bluff for about four hundred [illegible] breaking off almost abruptly at the north. The [illegible] this line runs about due north; it strikes the bluff [illegible] around a sudden bend from the south-east, the [illegible] checked and turned by the rocky hill. The mill-dam runs across the Sangamon River just at the mill checks the rapidity of the water. It was here, and on this dam, that Mr. Lincoln's flatboat stuck on the 19th of April, 1831. The dam is [illegible] eight feet high, and two hundred and twenty feet long, and as the old Sangamon rolls her turbid waters over the dam, plunging them into the whirl and eddy beneath, the roar and hiss of waters, like the low, continuous, distant thunder, can distinctly heard through the whole village, day and [illegible]

discovery on the prairies of Illinois. . . . I, however, [illegible] came across a noted character who lives in this [illegible] the name of Thomas Watkins, who set forth the [illegible] and other advantages of Cameron's Mill, as it was then [illegible] I accordingly came home with him, visited the locality [illegible] tracted for the erection of a magnificent storehouse [illegible] sum of fifteen dollars; and, after passing a night in the [illegible] reached St. Louis in safety. Others soon followed."

In 1836 New Salem contained about twenty houses, inhabited by nearly a hundred people; but in 1831 there could not have been more than two-thirds or three-fourths that number. Many of the houses cost not more than ten dollars, and none of them more than one hundred dollars.

When the news flew through the country that the mill-dam was broken, the people assembled from far and near, and made a grand frolic of mending it. In like manner, when a new settler arrived, and the word passed around that he wanted to put up a house, everybody came in to the "raising;" and, after behaving like the best of good Samaritans to the new neighbor, they drank whiskey, ran foot-races, wrestled, fought, and went home.

"I first knew this hill, or bluff," says Mr. Herndon, in his remarkable lecture on Ann Rutledge, "as early as 1830. I have seen it in spring-time and winter, in sunshine and in fall. I have seen it in daylight and night-time. I have seen it when the sward was green, living, and vital; and I have seen it wrapped in snow, frost, and sleet. I have closely [illegible] it for more than five long years. . . .

"As I sat on the verge of the town, in presence of this [illegible] I called to mind the street running east and west through the village, the river eastward; Green's Rocky Branch [illegible] hills, southward; Clary's Grove, westward; the road to [illegible] Petersburg northward, and Spoonbill [illegible] I cannot exclude from my memory or [illegible] faces, voices, and features of those [illegible] my imagination the village [illegible] the hum of busy men [illegible]

[illegible] forty come men and women on foot or on [illegible] and be seen, to hear and to be heard, to [illegible] what they have with the merchant and [illegible] There are Jack Armstrong and William Green, [illegible] Dunn, Alley and Carman, Hill and McNamar, Hendricks and Rutledge, Warburton and Sneed, Bale and Ellis, Anderson and Ann. Oh, what a history!"

[illegible] which in the progressive West would be [illegible], New Salem was in Sangamon County, [illegible] Springfield was the county-seat. Springfield itself was [illegible] having a population of one thousand or [illegible] hundred. The capital of the State was not [illegible] for the parliamentary [illegible] "[illegible] to bring it to Springfield. [illegible] after long struggles, [illegible] the new County of Menard [illegible] Sangamon in 1839, at which [illegible] was [illegible] New Salem.

[illegible] 1841, Mr. Lincoln [illegible] New Salem. He was [illegible] Mr. L. [illegible] Office [illegible] Bar [illegible]

he could write. They were "short of a clerk" at the polls; and, after casting about in vain for some one competent to fill the office, it occurred to one of the judges that perhaps the tall stranger possessed the needful qualifications. He thereupon accosted him, and asked if he could write. He replied, "Yes, a little."—"Will you act as clerk of the election to-day?" said the judge. "I will try," returned Abe, "and do the best I can, if you so request." He did try accordingly, and, in the language of the schoolmaster, "performed the duties with great facility, much fairness and honesty and impartiality. This was the first public official act of his life. I clerked with him," says Mr. Graham, swelling with his theme, "on the same day and at the same polls. The election-books are now in the city of Springfield, Ill., where they can be seen and inspected any day."

Whilst Abe was "doing nothing," or, in other words, waiting for Offutt's goods, one Dr. Nelson, a resident of New Salem, built a flatboat, and, placing his family and effects upon it, started for Texas. But as the Sangamon was a turbulent and treacherous stream at best, and its banks were now full to overflowing, Nelson needed a pilot, at least as far as Beardstown. His choice fell upon Abe, who took him to the mouth of the doubtful river in safety, although Abe often declared that he occasionally ran out into the prairie at least three miles from the channel. Arriving at Beardstown, Nelson pushed on down the Illinois, and Abe walked back to New Salem.

The second storekeeper at New Salem was a Mr. George Warburton; but, "the country not having improved his morals in the estimation of his friends," George thought it advisable to transfer his storeroom and the remnant of his stock to Offutt. In the mean time, Offutt's long-expected goods were received from Beardstown. Abe unpacked them, ranged them on the shelves, rolled the barrels and kegs into their places, and, being provided with a brand-new book, pen, and ink, found himself duly installed as "first clerk" of the principal mercantile house in New Salem. A country store is an

speedily raised up a crop of sharp thorns to [illegible] Offutt. At New Salem, honors such as Offutt [illegible] Abe were to be won before they were worn.

Bill Clary made light of Offutt's opinion respecting Abe's prowess; and one day, when the dispute between them had been running high in the store, it ended by a bet of [illegible] on the part of Clary that Jack Armstrong was "a [illegible]." Now, "Jack was a powerful twister," "square built, and strong as an ox." He had, besides, a great backing; for he was the chief of the "Clary's Grove boys," and the Clary's Grove boys were the terror of the countryside. Although there never was under the sun a more generous parcel of ruffians than those over whom Jack held sway, a stranger's introduction was likely to be the most unpleasant part of his acquaintance with them. In fact, one of the objects of their association was to "initiate or naturalize new-comers," as they termed the amiable proceedings which they took by way of welcoming any one ambitious of admittance to the society of New Salem. They first bantered the gentleman to run a foot-race, jump, pitch the mall, or wrestle; and, if none of these propositions seemed agreeable to him, they would request to know what he would do in case another gentleman should pull his nose, or squirt tobacco-juice in his face. If he did not seem entirely decided in his views as to what should properly be done in such a contingency, perhaps he would be nailed in a hogshead, and rolled down New-Salem hill; perhaps his ideas would be brightened by a brief ducking in the Sangamon; or perhaps he would be scoffed, kicked, and cuffed by a great number of persons in concert, until he reached the confines of the village, and then turned adrift as being unfit company for the people of that settlement. If, however, the stranger consented to engage in a tussle with one of his persecutors, it was usually arranged that there should be "foul play," with nameless impositions and insults, which would inevitably change the affair into a fight; and then, if the subject of all these practices proved indeed to be a man of mettle, he would be promptly received into "good society," and

back; but this feat was as futile as the rest, and left Jack standing as square and as firm as ever. "Now, Jack," said Abe, "let's quit: you can't throw me, and I can't throw you." But Jack's partisans, regarding this overture as a signal of the enemy's distress, and being covetous of jack-knives, whiskey, and "smooth quarters," cheered him on to greater exertions. Rendered desperate by these expectations of his friends, and now enraged at meeting more than his match, Jack resolved on "a foul," and, breakin' odds, he essayed the unfair and disreputable expedient of "hackling." But at this Abe's prudence deserted him, and righteous wrath rose to the ascendent. The astonished spectators saw him take their great bully by the throat, and, holding him out at arm's-length, shake him like a child. Then a score or two of the boys cried "Fight!" Bill Clary claimed the stakes, and Offutt, in the fright and confusion, was about to yield them; but "Lincoln said they had not won the money, and they should not have it; and, although he was opposed to fighting, if nothing else would do them, he would fight Armstrong, Clary, or any of the set." Just at this juncture James Rutledge, the original proprietor of New Salem, and a man of some authority, "rushed into the crowd," and exerted himself to maintain the peace. He succeeded; but for a few moments a general fight was impending, and Abe was seen with his back against Offutt's store "undismayed" and "resolute," although surrounded by enemies.[1]

Jack Armstrong was no bad fellow, after all. A sort of Western John Browdie, stout and rough, but great-hearted, honest, and true: his big hand, his cabin, his table, and his purse were all at the disposal of a friend in need. He possessed a rude sense of justice, and felt an incredible respect for a man who would stand single-handed, stanch, and defiant, in the midst of persecutors and foes. He had never disliked Abe, and had, in fact, looked for very different things from him, even before his title to respectability had been made so

[1] Of the fight and what followed, we have the particulars from many persons who were witnesses.

that brought him to the ground." Being "as strong as two men, Jack wanted to whip the man badly," but Abe interfered, and, managing to have himself made "arbitrator," compromised the difficulty by a practical application of the golden rule. "Well, Jack," said he, "what did you say to the man?" Whereupon Jack repeated his words. "Well, Jack," replied Abe, "if you were a stranger in a strange place, as this man is, and you were called a d— liar, &c., what would you do?" — "Whip him, by God!" — "Then this man has done no more to you than you would have done to him." — "Well, Abe," said the honest bruiser, "it's all right," and, taking his opponent by the hand, forgave him heartily, and "treated." Jack always treated his victim when he thought he had been too hard upon him.

Abe's duties in Offutt's store were not of a character to monopolize the whole of his time,[1] and he soon began to think that here was a fine opportunity to remedy some of the defects in his education. He could read, write, and cipher as well as most men; but as his popularity was growing daily, and his ambition keeping pace, he feared that he might shortly be called to act in some public capacity which would require him to speak his own language with some regard to the rules of the grammar, — of which, according to his own confession, he knew nothing at all. He carried his troubles to the schoolmaster, saying, "I have a notion to study English grammar." — "If you expect to go before the public in any capacity," replied Mr. Graham, "I think it the best thing you can do." — "If I had a grammar," replied Abe, "I would commence now." There was no grammar to be had about New Salem, but the schoolmaster, having kept the run of that species of property, gladdened Abe's heart by telling him that he knew where there was one. Abe rose from the breakfast at which he was sitting, and learning that the book was at Vandalia

[1] "During the time he was working for Offutt and hands were scarce, he [illegible] and cut down trees, and split enough rails for Offutt to make a good-sized pen in a [illegible] contain a thousand hogs. The pen was built [illegible] know where those rails are now, are sound today." — MINTER GRAHAM.

[illegible] soon," and pilot her up. We [illegible] she ran with comparative ease and safety as far as the New Salem dam, a part of which they were compelled to [illegible] in order to let the steamer through. Thence she went [illegible] high as Rogue's mill; but, having reached that point [illegible] idly-falling water admonished her captain and passengers that unless they wished her to be left there for the season [illegible] promptly turn her prow down stream. For some [illegible] return trip, she made not more than three or four miles a day, "on account of the high wind from the prairie." [illegible] was sent for, being an old boatman," says J. R. Herndon, "and I met her some twelve or thirteen miles above New Salem.

We got to Salem the second day after I went on board. When we struck the dam, she hung. We then backed off, and threw the anchor over the dam, and tore away a part of the dam, and, raising steam, ran her over the first trial. As soon as she was over, the company that chartered her was done with her. I think the captain gave Mr. Lincoln forty dollars to run her down to Beardstown. I am sure I got forty dollars to continue on her until we landed at Beardstown. We that went down with her walked back to New Salem."

CHAPTER V

IN the spring of 1832 Mr. Ofla[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] was [illegible] to [illegible] My [illegible] departed [illegible], [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] famous chief Black Hawk and his warriors [illegible] hood, [illegible] their old hunting grounds [illegible] the Rock-[illegible]

[illegible] Hawk [illegible] large Indian, of [illegible] and [illegible]. He was a [illegible] man. [illegible] to con-[illegible] smaller scale [illegible] his own [illegible] amongst [illegible]. The [illegible] apprehensive [illegible] Indian [illegible] In the [illegible] Black [illegible] power in [illegible] pur-[illegible] the un-[illegible] the [illegible] W[illegible] in 17[illegible] Montreal [illegible] become [illegible] feelings. [illegible] life

BLACK HAWK, THE INDIAN CHIEF.

long he made annual journeys to the councils of the tribes at Malden, where the gifts and persuasions of British agents confirmed him in his inclination to the British interests. When Pyesa was gathered to his fathers, his son took his place as the chief of the Sacs, hated the Americans, loved the friendly English, and went yearly to Malden, precisely as he thought Pyesa would have had him do. But Black Hawk's mind was infinitely superior to Pyesa's: his sentiments were loftier, his heart more susceptible; he had the gift of the seer, the power of the orator, with the high courage and the profound policy of a born warrior and a natural ruler. He had brooded over the early history of his tribe: and to his views, as he looked down the vista of years, the former times seemed so much better than the present, that the vision wrought upon his susceptible imagination, which pictured it to be the Indian golden age. He had some remembrance of a treaty made by Gen. Harrison in 1804, to which his people had given their assent; and his feelings were with difficulty controlled, when he was required to leave the Rock-river Valley, in compliance with a treaty made with Gen. Scott. That valley, however, he peacefully abandoned with his tribe, on being notified, and went to the west of the Mississippi; but he had spent his youth in that locality, and the more he thought of it, the more determined he was to return thither. He readily enlisted the sympathies of the Indians, who are ever prone to ponder on their real or imaginary wrongs; and it may be readily conjectured that what Indian counsel could not accomplish, Indian prophecy would."[1] He had moved when summoned to move, because he was then unprepared to fight; but he utterly denied that the chiefs who seemed to have ceded the lands long years before had any right to cede them, or that the tribe had ever willingly given up the country to the stranger and the aggressor. It was a fraud upon the simple Indians: the old treaty was a great lie, and the signatures it purported to have, made with marks and primitive devices, were not attached in good

[1] Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes.

of trusting to their patriotism instead of the [illegible] Gen. Atkinson, now in command at Rock Island [illegible] troops in motion: the governor issued his call for [illegible] and, as the Indians by this time had committed some [illegible] ful barbarities, the blood of the settlers was boiling, [illegible] regiments were almost instantly filled with the best possible material. So soon as these facts became known, [illegible] of Black Hawk, both the secret and the open, fell [illegible] him, and left him, with the Sacs and the Foxes, to [illegible] fate.

In the mean time Lincoln had enlisted in a company [illegible] Sangamon. He had not been out in the campaign of the previous year, but told his friend Row Herndon [illegible] had not been down the river with Offutt, he would [illegible] have been with the boys in the field. But, notwithstanding his want of military experience, his popularity was [illegible] that he had been elected captain of a mihtia company [illegible] occasion of a muster at Clary's Grove the fall before. He was absent at the time, but thankfully accepted and [illegible] much to his surprise, his friends put him up for the [illegible] of this company about to enter a new service. The [illegible] organize at home, however, but marched first to [illegible] and then to Rushville in Schuyler County, where [illegible] took place. Bill Kirkpatrick was a candidate against [illegible] but made a very sorry showing. It has been said [illegible] coln once worked for Kirkpatrick as a [illegible] suffered some indignities at his hands; but the [illegible] whole is supported by no credible testimony. It is [illegible] however, that the planks for the boat built by Abe [illegible] friends at the mouth of Spring Creek were sawed [illegible] of a Mr. Kirkpatrick. It was [illegible] fell in the way of the [illegible] and learned to [illegible] all events, when he had [illegible] Kirkpatrick [illegible] his captain by the suffrages of men who [illegible] with Kirkpatrick [illegible] spoke of him specifically, and referred [illegible] some old dispute. "Damn him," said he, [illegible]

firing his pistol within ten steps of the camp, and for the violation of orders was put under arrest for that day and his sword taken from him; but the next day his sword was restored, and nothing more was done in the matter."

From Henderson River the troops marched to Yellow Banks, on the Mississippi. "While at this place," Mr. Ben F. Irwin says, "a considerable body of Indians of the Cherokee tribe came across the river from the Iowa side, with the white flag hoisted. These were the first Indians we saw. They were very friendly, and gave us a general war-dance. We, in return, gave them a Sucker ho-down. All enjoyed the sport, and it is safe to say no man enjoyed it more than Capt. Lincoln."

From Yellow Banks, a rapid and exhaustive march of [illegible] days brought the volunteers to the mouth of Rock River, where "it was agreed between Gen. Whiteside and Gen. Atkinson of the regulars, that the volunteers should march up Rock River, about fifty miles, to the Prophet's Town, and there encamp, to feed and rest their horses, and await the arrival of the regular troops, in keel-boats, with provisions. Judge William Thomas, who again acted as quartermaster to the volunteers, made an estimate of the amount of provisions required until the boats could arrive, which was supplied. [illegible] then Gen. Whiteside took up his line of march, [illegible] Lincoln's company did not march on the present occasion with the alacrity which distinguished their comrades of [illegible] The orderly sergeant attempted to "form company," [illegible] company declined to be formed, the men, [illegible] and rumors of wars, mocked at the word of command, and remained between their blankets in a state of [illegible] For an explanation of these signs of passive [illegible] resort again to the manuscript of the [illegible] story of Capt. Lincoln's first arrest. [illegible] reached the mouth of Rock River [illegible] nights afterwards, a man named [illegible] called "Pot Green," belonging to a [illegible]

[illegible] A History of Lincoln [illegible]

when several Indians were seen [illegible] ground hearts. A mile distant [illegible] Sac was renowned [illegible] officers or orders, [illegible] shook a red flag, [illegible] speed. Three of them were over[illegible] rest performed with perfect skill [illegible] were sent, they led Stillman's [illegible] where lay Black Hawk himself [illegible] warriors. The pursuers recorded [illegible] Black Hawk bore down upon Still[illegible] streaming back with fearful cries [illegible] ferocity of the enemy, spread [illegible] force. Stillman gave a hasty order to fall [illegible] fell back much faster and farther than he [illegible] never faced about, or so much as [illegible] Whiteside's camp at Dixon. The first of [illegible] about twelve o'clock; and others [illegible] long and part of the next day, each party [illegible] selves as the sole survivors of that strug[illegible] solely by the exercise of miraculous valor.[illegible]

[illegible] It is said that a big, tall Kentuckian with a very loud [illegible] militia but a [illegible] face with Stillman, upon his arrival in camp, gave [illegible] the wondering multitude the following glowing and bombastic [illegible] "Sirs," said he, "our detachment was encamped among [illegible] north side of Old Man's creek, with the prairie from the north [illegible] our encampment. It was just after twilight, in the gloaming [illegible] discovered Black Hawk's army coming down upon us in [illegible] the form of a crescent upon the brow of the prairie, and such a [illegible] of military movements were never witnessed by man; they were [illegible] of Wellington in Spain. I have said that the Indians came [illegible] displayed in the form of a crescent, and, what was most wonderful [illegible] squares of cavalry resting upon the points of the curve, which [illegible] again by other columns fifteen deep, extending back through [illegible] a swamp three-quarters of a mile, which again rested upon the [illegible] army bivouacked upon the banks of the Kishwakee. It was a [illegible] sight to see the tawny warriors as they rode along our flanks [illegible] with the glittering moonbeams glistening from their painted [illegible] spears. It was a sight well calculated to strike consternation [illegible] boldest heart; and accordingly our men soon began to break in small squads [illegible] ber. In a very little time the rout became general. The Indians were [illegible] threatened the destruction of the entire detachment. About this time M[illegible] Col. Stephenson, Major Perkins, Capt. Adams, Mr. Hackelton, and myself [illegible] others, threw ourselves into the rear to rally the fugitives and protect the retreat [illegible] a short time all my companions fell, bravely fighting hand to hand [illegible]

of the most careful and experienced, the [illegible] destitute of food. "The majority [illegible] corn and coffee for two or three days; [illegible] ing of the last march from Dixon, [illegible] had succeeded in getting a little [illegible] white inhabitant of that country, and the [illegible] to eat without bread. "I can truly say I was [illegible] said Capt. Lincoln, reviewing the events [illegible] He was, doubtless, as destitute and wretched [illegible] he was patient, quiet, and resolute. Hunger [illegible] discontented and mutinous spirit. The men [illegible] terly of all they had been made to endure, and [illegible] for a general discharge. But Capt. Lincoln kept [illegible] tenor of his way;" and, when his regiment was [illegible] immediately enlisted as a private soldier in another [illegible]

From the battle-field Whiteside returned to his [illegible] at Dixon, but determined, before doing so, to make [illegible] attempt to retrieve his ill-fortune. Black Hawk's [illegible] were supposed to be lying a few miles distant, in a [illegible] the Rock River; and the capture of these would serve as some relief to the dreary series of errors and miscarriages which had hitherto marked the campaign. But Black Hawk had just been teaching him strategy in the most effective [illegible] and the present movement was undertaken with an eye [illegible] caution almost as ludicrous as Stillman's bravado. "To provide as well as might be against danger, one man was started at a time in the direction of the point. When he would get a certain distance, keeping in sight, a second would start, and so on, until a string of men extending five miles from the main army was made, each to look out for Indians, and give the sign to right, left, or front, by hanging a hat on a bayonet, — right for the front, and right or left, as the case might be. To raise men to go ahead was with difficulty done, and some tried hard to drop back: but we got through safe, and found the place deserted, leaving plenty of Indian signs, — a dead dog and several scalps taken in Stillman's defeat, as we supposed them to have been taken." After this, the last of Gen. Whiteside's

a little bolder than the rest, but evidently feeling [illegible] for the whole, cried out, "This is cowardly on [illegible] Lincoln!" Whereupon the tall captain's [illegible] a few inches higher again. He looked down [illegible] varlets who would have murdered a defenceless [illegible] and now quailed before his single hand, with [illegible] The oldest of his acquaintances, even Bill [illegible] him grapple Jack Armstrong and defy the bulk [illegible] never saw him so much "aroused" before. [illegible] thinks I am a coward, let him test it," said he. [illegible] responded a new voice, "you are larger and heavier [illegible] are." — "This you can guard against: choose your weapons," returned the rigid captain. Whatever may be said [illegible] Lincoln's choice of means for the preservation of [illegible] discipline, it was certainly very effectual in this [illegible] was no more disaffection in his camp, and the word [illegible] was never coupled with his name again. Mr. Lincoln [illegible] stood his men better than those who would [illegible] criticise his conduct. He has often declared himself [illegible] life and character were both at stake, and would [illegible] have been lost, had he not at that supremely critical [illegible] forgotten the officer and asserted the man. [illegible] the offenders under arrest would have [illegible] mutiny; to have tried and punished them [illegible] impossible. They could scarcely be [illegible] were merely armed citizens, with a [illegible] tion. They were but recently enlisted [illegible] service was just about to expire. [illegible] against them, and offered to submit to [illegible] of any sort, it would have been [illegible] pusillanimous, and his officers would [illegible]

Lincoln was [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] around his person, [illegible]

bloody one, when Lincoln rose up and said, "Boys, the man actually threw me once fair, broadly so; and the second time, this very fall, he threw me fairly, though not so apparently so." He would countenance no disturbance, and his unexpected and somewhat astonishing magnanimity ended all attempts to raise one.

Mr. Lincoln's good friend, Mr. Green, the principal, though not the sole authority for the present account of his adventure in behalf of the Indian and his wrestle with Thompson, mentions one important incident which is found in no other manuscript, and which gives us a glimpse of Mr. Lincoln in a scene of another sort. "One other word in reference to Mr. Lincoln's care for the health, welfare, and justice to his men. Some officers of the United States had claimed that the regular army had a preference in the rations and pay. Mr. Lincoln was ordered to do some act which he deemed unauthorized. He, however, obeyed, but went to the officer and said to him, 'Sir, you forget that we are not under the rules and regulations of the War Department at Washington; are only volunteers under the orders and regulations of Illinois. Keep in your own sphere, and there will be no difficulty; but resistance will hereafter be paid to your unjust orders: and, further, my men must be equal in all particulars, in rations, arms, camps, &c., to the regular army.' The man saw that Mr. Lincoln was right, and determined to have justice done. Always after this we were treated equally well, and just as the regular army was, in every particular. This brave, just, and humane act in behalf of the volunteers at once attached officers and men to him, as with hooks of steel."

When the army reached Dixon, the almost universal discontent of the men had grown so manifest and so [illegible] that it could no longer be safely disregarded. They [illegible] "for the flesh-pots of Egypt," and fiercely [illegible] discharge. Although their time had not expired, [illegible] resolved to march them by way of Paw-Paw Grove [illegible] and there concede what the governor feared he could [illegible] to withhold.

[illegible] went [illegible] as clear through [illegible] River; and [illegible] the boys kil[illegible] [illegible] have come [illegible] with us [illegible] if it got [illegible] as we were marching, which it did sometimes. [illegible] on the track, and come to us at night. It was [illegible] cleverest, friendly-disposed hog any man ever saw [illegible] untimely death was by many of us greatly deplored. [illegible] all liked the hog for its friendly disposition and good manners; for it never molested any thing, and kept in [illegible]

On the 28th of May the volunteers were [illegible] governor had already called for two thousand [illegible] take their places; but, in the mean time, he made [illegible] strenuous efforts to organize a small force out of the [illegible] discharged, to protect the frontiers until the new [illegible] ready for service. He succeeded in raising one regiment and a spy company. Many officers of distinction, among the [illegible] Whiteside himself, enlisted as private soldiers, and served in that capacity to the end of the war. Capt. Lincoln became Private Lincoln of the "Independent Spy Company," Capt. Early commanding; and, although he was never in an engagement, he saw some hard service in scouting and [illegible] ing, as well as in carrying messages and reports.

About the middle of June the new troops were ready for the field, and soon after moved up to Rock River. Meanwhile the Indians had overrun the country. "They had scattered their war-parties all over the North from Chicago to Galena, and from the Illinois River into the Territory of Wisconsin; they occupied every grove, waylaid every road, hung around every settlement, and attacked every party of white men that attempted to penetrate the country." There had been some desultory fighting at various points. Capt. Snyder, in whose company Gen. Whiteside was a private, had met the Indians at Burr Oak Grove, and had a sharp engagement; Mr. St. Vrain, an Indian agent, with a small party of assistants, had been treacherously murdered near Fort Armstrong; several men had been killed at the lead mines, and the Wisconsin volunteers under Dodge had signally punished

Atkinson formed a line of battle, and one [illegible] Black Hawk conducted his retreat with [illegible] skill that Atkinson believed he was pursuing [illegible] whole Indian army, and under the impression [illegible] the pursuit far up the river.

When Henry came up to the spot where [illegible] place, he readily detected the trick by various [illegible] the ground. Finding the main trail in the [illegible] he boldly fell upon it without orders, and followed [illegible] came up with the Indians in a swamp on the [illegible] river, where he easily surprised and scattered them. [illegible] son, hearing the firing in the swamp, turned back and [illegible] just in time to assist in the completion of the [illegible] few of the Indians had already crossed the river [illegible] taken refuge on a little willow island in the mid[illegible] stream. The island was charged, — the men wading [illegible] water up to their arm-pits, — the Indians were dis[illegible] killed on the spot, or shot in the water while attempting [illegible] swim to the western shore. Fifty prisoners only were taken, and the greater part of these were squaws and children. This was the battle of the Bad Axe, — a terrible slaughter considering the numbers engaged, and the final ruin of Black Hawk's fortunes.

Black Hawk and his twenty warriors, among whom was his own son, made the best of their way to the Dalles on the Wisconsin, where they seem to have awaited passively whatever fate their enemies should contrive for them. There were some Sioux and Winnebagoes in Atkinson's camp, — men who secretly pretended to sympathize with Black Hawk, and while acting as guides to the army, had really led it astray on many painful and perilous marches. It is certain that Black Hawk had counted on the assistance of those tribes; but after the fight on the Wisconsin, even those who had consented to act as his emissaries about the person of the hostile commander not only deserted him, but volunteered to hunt him down. They now offered to find him, take him, and bring him in, provided that base and cowardly service should

to ascertain facts. I suppose the nearest we were to being battle was at Gratiot's Grove, near Galena. The spy company of Posey's brigade was many miles in advance of the brigade, when it stopped in the grove at noon for refreshments. Some of the men had turned loose their horses, and others still had theirs in hand, when five or six Sac and Fox Indians came near them. Many of the white men broke after them, some on horseback, some on foot, in great disorder and confusion, thinking to have much sport with their prisoners immediately. The Indians thus decoyed them about two miles from the little cabins in the grove, keeping just out of sight, when suddenly up sprang from the tall prairie grass, two hundred and fifty painted warriors, with long spears and [illegible] tomahawks and butcher-knives in their belts of [illegible] buffalo, and raised such a yell that our friends supposed [illegible] to be more numerous than Black Hawk's whole [illegible] stantly filled with consternation, confusion [illegible] the savages soon began to spear them, making [illegible] to halt in the flight, and give them a fire, at which [illegible] killed two Indians, one of them being [illegible] apparelled. Again, in the utmost horror [illegible] alone can produce, they fled for the [illegible] having arrived, they found the [illegible] terrified by the screams of the white [illegible] savages, closely shut up in the [illegible] they quickly plunged, and found [illegible] The Indians then prowled around [illegible] all the company's horses and steeds [illegible] There, from cracks between the logs [illegible] dians were shot and killed in the act [illegible] of bridles on the [illegible] bodies by trees in an old fence [illegible] but, reaching with sticks for bridles [illegible] and necks, and all of them were [illegible] through the neck. Those [illegible] our men wheeled and fled [illegible] killed; and on their return [illegible]

lated by the proximity of home, con[illegible] to travel at our usual tardy mode. At [illegible] an oar with which to row our little [illegible] through the town in order to buy provisions [illegible] One of us pulled away at the one oar, while [illegible] astern to steer, or prevent circling. The river [illegible] low was without current, so that we had to pull [illegible] half the speed of legs on land, — in fact, w[illegible] night, and on the next morning always found [illegible] visible that were beside us the previous evening. [illegible] was remarkably clear, for this river of plants, [illegible] appeared to be sporting with us as we moved [illegible] them.

"On the next day after we left Pekin, we over[illegible] of saw-logs, with two men afloat on it to urge it [illegible] poles and to guide it in the channel. We immed[illegible] up to them and went on the raft, where we [illegible] come by various demonstrations, especially be[illegible] tion to a feast on fish, corn-bread, eggs, [illegible] gust prepared for our benefit. Of these good [illegible] almost immoderately, for it was the only warm [illegible] made for several days. While preparing [illegible] Lincoln entertained them, and they enter[illegible] couple of hours very amusingly.

"This saw mode of travel was at [illegible] and the novelty made it for a short [illegible] accepted the offers to [illegible] and again set out the old way [illegible] burg. As we drew near [illegible] and urged us in amazing [illegible] often slipping [illegible] were just right for me [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible]

"[illegible]

CHAPTER VI

THE volunteers from Sangamon [illegible] shortly before the State election [illegible] other officers, assembly-men were to be [illegible] popularity had been greatly enhanced by his [illegible] war, and some of his friends urged him with warm [illegible] tions to become a candidate at the coming election. He [illegible] dently resisted, and declined to consent, alleging in excuse [illegible] limited acquaintance in the county at large, until Mr. James Rutledge, the founder of New Salem, added the weight [illegible] his advice to the nearly unanimous desire of the neighborhood. It is quite likely that his recent military career was thought to furnish high promise of usefulness in civil affairs; but Mr. Rutledge was sure that he saw another proof of his great abilities in a speech which Abe was induced to make, just about this time, before the New-Salem Literary Society. The following is an account of this speech by R. B. Rutledge, the son of James:—

"About the year 1832 or 1833, Mr. Lincoln made his first effort at public speaking. A debating club, of which James Rutledge was president, was organized, and held regular meetings. As he arose to speak, his tall form towered above the little assembly. Both hands were thrust down deep in the pockets of his pantaloons. A perceptible smile at once lit up the faces of the audience, for all anticipated the relation of some humorous story. But he opened up the discussion in splendid style, to the infinite astonishment of his friends. As he warmed with his subject, his hands would

[illegible] the n[illegible] [illegible] wherever there was a [illegible] peopled by adventurers from [illegible] sarily found great numbers [illegible] the winning side merely because it was the [illegible]

It is unnecessary to [illegible] national politics, — Jackson's struggle [illegible] bank, "hard money" [illegible] the tariff, and nullification, or the [illegible] tions of the chieftains, — Jackson, [illegible] Lincoln will shortly disclose in one of his speeches [illegible] stump which of those questions were of [illegible] the people of Illinois and consequently [illegible] cipally occupied his own attention.

The Democrats were divided into "whole [illegible] "nominal Jackson men;" the former [illegible] devoted to the fortunes and principles of their [illegible] the latter were willing to trim a little for the sake [illegible] support. It is probable that Mr. Lincoln might [illegible] classed as a "nominal Jackson man," although the [illegible] character of some of the views he then held, or is supposed to have held, on national questions, is involved in considerable doubt. He had not wholly forgotten Jones, or Jones's teachings. He still remembered his high disputes with Offutt [illegible] the shanty at Spring Creek, when he effectually defended Jackson against the "abuse" of his employer. He was a Whig, but "Whiggish," as Dennis Hanks expresses it. It is not likely that a man who deferred so habitually to the prevailing sentiment around him would have selected the occasion of his settlement in a new place to go over bodily to a hopeless political minority. At all events, we have at least three undisputed facts, which make it plain that he then occupied an intermediate position between the extremes of all parties. First, he received the votes of all parties at New Salem, [illegible]

At a later date they enjoyed a succession of [illegible] "barefoot boys," "the flat-footed boys," and [illegible] boys."

In those times, Gov. Ford avers that he has [illegible] rum-shops and groceries of the principal places [illegible] chartered by candidates, and kept open for [illegible] accommodation of the free and independent [illegible] eral weeks before the vote. Every Saturday [illegible] people flocked to the county-seat, to see the [illegible] hear speeches, to discuss prospects, to get [illegible] "Toward evening they would mount their [illegible] from side to side, galloping through town [illegible] their caps and hats, screeching like [illegible] broke loose from their teacher [illegible] later for their homes." [illegible] account of the [illegible] choice of Gov. Reynolds [illegible] must be [illegible] ready of [illegible] before [illegible] Lincoln was [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] voted with the Whigs [illegible] next canvass Mr. Lincoln himself was [illegible] and triumphantly elected. [illegible] by the prevalent mode of making [illegible] the salutary intervention of [illegible] committees. We repeat that Mr. [illegible] between the extremes in [illegible]

His friend, Mr. A. Y. Ellis, who was [illegible] part of this campaign, says: "He [illegible] claw-hammer style, short in the sleeves [illegible] was so short in the tail he could not [illegible] linen pantaloons, and a straw hat [illegible] but do not remember how it looked [illegible] boots.

[illegible] accompanied him on one of his [illegible] [illegible] made a speech [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] that may be [illegible] 1832 [illegible]

[illegible] People of Sangamo County.

Fellow-Citizens, — Having [illegible] honorable office of one of your Rep[illegible] General Assembly of this State, in ac[illegible] custom and the principles of [illegible] becomes my duty to make known to you [illegible] propose to [illegible] present, my sentime[illegible] affairs.

Time and experience have [illegible] public utility of internal improvements. [illegible] most thinly-populated countries would [illegible] the opening of good roads, and in the [illegible] streams within their limits, [illegible] is folly to undertake works [illegible] first knowing that w[illegible]

[illegible] or probably higher, to [illegible] thirty tons' burden, for at least [illegible] and to vessels of much greater [illegible] From my peculiar circumstances [illegible] last twelve months I have given as [illegible] the stage of the water in this river [illegible] the country. In the month of March 1831 [illegible] others, I commenced the building of a flat [illegible] mon, and finished and took her out in the [illegible] spring. Since that time I have been concerned [illegible] New Salem. These circumstances are sufficient [illegible] I have not been very inattentive to the stage of the [illegible] The time at which we crossed the mill-dam [illegible] days of April, the water was lower than it [illegible] the breaking of winter in February, or than it was [illegible] weeks after. The principal difficulties we encountered in descending the river were from the drifted timber [illegible] obstructions all know are not difficult to be removed [illegible] ing almost precisely the height of water on that occasion. I believe I am safe in saying that it has as often been higher as lower since.

From this view of the subject, it appears that our expectations with regard to the navigation of the Sangamon cannot but be founded in reason; but, whatever may be its natural advantages, certain it is, that it never can be practically useful to any great extent, without being greatly improved by art. The drifted timber, as I have before mentioned, is the most formidable barrier to this object. Of all parts of this river, none will require so much labor in proportion to make it navigable, as the last thirty or thirty-five miles; and going with the meanderings of the channel, when we are the distance above its mouth we are only between twelve and eighteen miles above Beardstown, in something near a straight direction; and this route is upon such low ground as to retain water in many places during the season, and in all parts such as to draw two-thirds or three-fourths of the river water at all high stages.

CHAPTER [illegible]

THE [illegible] ... else [illegible] ... and Mr [illegible] he had [illegible] ... self, and it had done [illegible] ... sense as promised by Mr [illegible] ... connected with the people [illegible] ... generally marked [illegible] ... The [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Berry & Jones, who [illegible]

Wardle. Mr. [illegible]

[illegible] Dowler's [illegible] were a [illegible] Berry. Of [illegible] the drinks. [illegible] the patrons [illegible]

[illegible] Here is the [illegible] Democrat [illegible]

[illegible] I was [illegible]

"I came to Clarke's [illegible] I [illegible] then said out to Berry [illegible] was amused on [illegible] Kept for their customers [illegible] the drinkers probably had [illegible] Berry [illegible] sold to Berry & [illegible] Lane [illegible] Berry [illegible] always drank my drinks [illegible] at Berry's [illegible] involved. I think [illegible]

The difficulty of getting [illegible] following extract from Mr [illegible]

"I took my horse this morning and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] last [illegible] of [illegible] in 1839 [illegible] 1840. [illegible] ridge is [illegible] contrast with the [illegible] his creditor, as he had always [illegible] friend.

Certain that he had no [illegible] took the best resolution he could [illegible] cumstances. He sat down to his [illegible] believing that knowledge would be power [illegible] He had no reason to shun his creditors [illegible] men of all others who most appreciated the honesty [illegible] duct at the period of his greatest pecuniary [illegible] talked to them constantly of the "old [illegible] debt," as he sometimes called it, — promis[illegible] could, and they devoutly relied upon, every word [illegible]

Row Herndon moved to the country, and [illegible] pelled to change his boarding-place. He now [illegible] at a tavern for the first time in his life. It was [illegible] ous persons during his stay, — first, it seems, by Mr [illegible] then by Henry Onstatt, and last by Nelson Alsop [illegible] small log-house, covered with clapboards, and [illegible] rooms.

Lincoln began to read law while he lived with [illegible] Some of his acquaintances insist that he began even [illegible] than this, and assert, by way of proof, that he was known [illegible] borrow a well-worn copy of Blackstone from A. V. Bogue [illegible] pork-dealer at Beardstown. At all events, he now went [illegible] work in earnest, and studied law as faithfully as if he [illegible] never dreamed of any other business in life. As a matter [illegible] course, his slender purse was unequal to the purchase of the needful books: but this circumstance gave him little trouble for, although he was short of funds, he was long in the [illegible] and had nothing to do but to walk off to Springfield where his friend, John T. Stuart, cheerfully supplied his wants. M.

"You ask me," says Mr. [illegible] time I saw Mr. Lincoln. Yes [illegible] the [illegible] tax for Gen. James [illegible] tavern down to Jacob Bab[illegible]'s [illegible] Mr. Lincoln. He was sitting [illegible] and Rial Armstrong and a man [illegible] I shook hands with the Armstrongs [illegible] conversing with them a few minu[illegible] my old friend and former townsman [illegible] pretty right as usual, and he soon [illegible] story about Ben Johnson and [illegible] [illegible] And then Jack Arm[illegible] the story about Gov. [illegible] [illegible] when [illegible] [illegible] I found out [illegible] Banks of Island Grove [illegible] of the [illegible] Cheney [illegible] Hicks, who [illegible] River, afterwards [illegible]

[illegible]

"Scotia's Bard," whom his friend mouthed in his cups, or expounded more soberly in the intervals of fixing bait and dropping line. Finally he and Kelso boarded at the same place; and with another "merchant," named Sincho, of tastes congenial and wits as keen as Kelso's, they were "always found together, battling and arguing." Bill Green ventures the opinion, that Lincoln's incessant reading of Shakspeare and Burns had much to do in giving to his mind the "sceptical" tendency so fully developed by the labors of his pen in 1834–5, and in social conversations during many years of his residence at Springfield.

Like Offutt, Kelso disappeared suddenly from New Salem, and apparently from the recollection of men. Each with a peculiar talent of his own, kind-hearted, eccentric creatures, no man's enemy and everybody's prey, they strolled out into the great world, and left this little village to perish behind them. Of Kelso a few faint traces have been found in Missouri; but if he ever had a lodging more permanent than the wayside tavern, a haystack, or a hedge, no man was able to tell where it was. Of Offutt not a word was ever heard: the most searching and cunning inquiries have failed to discover any spot where he lingered for a single hour; and but for the humble boy, to whom he was once a gentle master, no human being that knew him then would bestow a thought upon his name. In short, to use the expressive language of Mr. Lincoln himself, he literally "petered out."

Mr. Lincoln was often annoyed by "company." His quarters at the tavern afforded him little privacy, and the shade of the tree in front of the grocery was scarcely a sufficiently secluded situation for the purposes of an ardent student. There were too many people to wonder and laugh at a man studying law with "his feet up a tree;" too many to worry him for the stories and jokes which it was supposed he could furnish on demand. For these reasons it became necessary that he should "retire to the country occasionally to rest and study." Sometimes he went to James Short's on the Sand Ridge; sometimes to Minter Graham's; sometimes to Bowlin

[illegible] to Jack Armstrong's, and as often, [illegible] to Arch's or Row Herndon's. All of these men [illegible] faithfully and signally at one time and another, and towards them he was sincerely attached. When Bowlin [illegible] in 1842, Mr. Lincoln, then in the enjoyment of [illegible] reputation, undertook to deliver a funeral oration [illegible] the mourners of his beloved friend; but, when he rose to speak, his voice was choked with deep emotion: he stood a [illegible] his lips quivered in the effort to form the [illegible] phrase he sought to utter, and the tears ran [illegible] shrivelled cheeks. Some of those who [illegible] and saw his tall form thus sway in silence [illegible] of Bowlin Greene, say he looked so helpless, [illegible] and pitiable, that every heart in the audience [illegible] the spectacle. After repeated efforts, he found [illegible] to speak, and strode away, openly and bitterly [illegible] to the widow's carriage, in which he was driven from [illegible] Mr. Herndon's papers disclose less than we [illegible] to know concerning this excellent man: they [illegible] only this burial scene, with the fact that Bowlin Greene had loaned Mr. Lincoln books from their earliest acquaintance, and on one occasion had taken him to his home, and cared for him with the solicitude of a devoted friend through several weeks of great suffering and peril. The circumstances of the attempted eulogy are mentioned here to show the relations which subsisted between Mr. Lincoln and some of the benefactors we have enumerated.

But all this time Mr. Lincoln had a living to make, a running board-bill to pay, and nothing to pay it with. He was, it is true, in the hands of excellent friends, so far as the greater part of his indebtedness was concerned; but he was industrious by nature, and wanted to be working, and paying as he went. He would not have forfeited the good opinion of those confiding neighbors for a lifetime of ease and luxury. It was therefore a most happy thing for him, and he felt it to be so, when he attracted the attention of John Calhoun, the surveyor of Sangamon County.

Calhoun was the type of a perfect gentleman, — brave, courteous, able, and cultivated. He was a Democrat then, and a Democrat when he died. All the world knows how he was president of the Lecompton Convention; how he administered the trust in accordance with his well-known convictions; and how, after a life of devotion to Douglas, he was adroitly betrayed by that facile politician, and left to die in the midst of obloquy and disaster. At the time we speak of, he was one of the most popular men in the State of Illinois, and was one of the foremost chieftains of the political party which invariably carried the county and the district in which Mr. Lincoln lived. He knew Lincoln, and admired him. He was well assured that Lincoln knew nothing of surveying; but he was equally certain that he could soon acquire it. The speculative fever was at its height; he was overrun with business: the country was alive with strangers seeking land; and every citizen was buying and selling with a view to a great fortune in the "flush times" coming. He wanted a deputy with common sense and common honesty: he chose Lincoln, because nobody else possessed these qualities in a more eminent degree. He hunted him up; gave him a book; told him to study it, and said, that, as soon as he was ready, he should have as much work as he could do.

Lincoln took the book, and "retired to the country;" that is, he went out to Minter Graham's for about six weeks, in which time, by the aid of that good master, he became an expert surveyor, and was duly appointed Calhoun's deputy. Of course he made some money, merely his pay for work; but it is a remarkable fact, that, with his vast knowledge of the lands in Sangamon and adjacent counties, he never made a single speculation on his own account. It was not long until he acquired a considerable private business. The accuracy of his surveys were seldom, if ever, questioned. Disputes regarding "corners" and "lines" were frequently submitted to his arbitration; and the decision was invariably accepted as final. It often happened that his business kept him away from New Salem, and his other studies, for weeks

[illegible] while he was gathering friends against [illegible] of election.

In later years — from 1844 onward — it was his good or [illegible] fortune frequently to meet Calhoun on the stump; but [illegible] forgot his benefaction to him, and always regarded [illegible] the ablest and best man with whom he ever had crossed [illegible]. To the day of Calhoun's death they were warmly [illegible] to each other. In the times when it was most [illegible]able and profitable to denounce Calhoun and the Le[illegible] Constitution, when even Douglas turned to revile his old friend and coadjutor, Mr. Lincoln was never known to breathe a word of censure on his personal character.

On the 7th of May, 1833, Mr. Lincoln was appointed postmaster at New Salem. His political opinions were not extreme; and the Jackson administration could find no man who was at the same time more orthodox and equally competent to perform the duties of the office. He was not able to rent a room, for the business is said to have been carried on in his hat; but, from the evidence before us, we imagine that he kept the office in Mr. Hill's store, Mr. Hill's partner, McNamar, having been absent since 1832. He held the place until late in 1836, when New Salem partially disappeared, and the office was removed to Petersburg. For a little while before his own appointment, he is said to have acted as "deputy-postmaster" under Mr. Hill.

The mail arrived duly once a week; and the labors of distributing and delivering it were by no means great. But Mr. Lincoln was determined that the dignity of the place should not suffer while he was the incumbent. He therefore made up for the lack of real business by deciphering the letters of the uneducated portion of the community, and by reading the newspapers aloud to the assembled inhabitants in front of Hill's store.

But his easy good-nature was sometimes imposed upon by inconsiderate acquaintances; and Mr. Hill relates one of the devices by which he sought to stop the abuse. "One Elmore Johnson, an ignorant but ostentatious, proud man, used

to go to Lincoln's post-office every day, — sometimes three or four times a day, if in town, — and inquire, 'Any thing for me?' This bored Lincoln, yet it amused him. Lincoln fixed a plan, — wrote a letter to Johnson as coming from a negress in Kentucky, saying many good things about opossum, dances, corn-shuckings, &c.; 'John's! come and see me; and old master won't kick you out of the kitchen any more!' Elmore took it out; opened it; couldn't read a word; pretended to read it; went away; got some friends to read it: they read it correctly; he thought the reader was fooling him, and went to others with the same result. At last he said he would get *Lincoln* to read it, and presented it to Lincoln. It was almost too much for Lincoln, but he read it. The man never asked afterwards, 'Any thing here for me?'"

It was in the latter part of 1834 that Mr. Lincoln's personal property was sold under the hammer, and by due process of law, to meet the judgment obtained by Van Bergen on the note assigned to him by Radford. Every thing he had was taken; but it was the surveyor's instruments which it hurt him most to part with, for by their use he was making a tolerable living, and building up a respectable business. This time, however, rescue came from an unexpected quarter.

When Mr. Lincoln first came to New Salem, he employed a woman to make him a pair of pantaloons, which, probably from the scarcity of material, were cut entirely too short, as his garments usually were. Soon afterwards the woman's brother came to town, and she pointed Abe out to him as he walked along the street. The brother's name was James Short. "Without the necessity of a formal introduction," says Short, "we fell in together, and struck up a conversation, the purport of which I have now forgotten. He made a favorable impression upon me by his conversation on first acquaintance through his intelligence and sprightliness, which impression was deepened from time to time, as I became better acquainted with him." This was a lucky "impression" for Abe. Short was a fast friend, and in the day of trouble a

[illegible]ne and able one. At the time the judgment was obtained, Short lived on the Sand Ridge, four miles from New Salem; and Lincoln was in the habit of walking out there almost daily. Short was then unconscious of the main reason of Mr. Lincoln's remarkable devotion to him: there was a lady in the house whom Lincoln secretly but earnestly loved, and of whom there is much to be said at another place. If the guest had known every thing, however, poor Abe would have been equally welcome; for he made himself a strangely agreeable guest here, as he did everywhere else. In busy times he pulled off his roundabout, and helped Short in the field with more energy than any hired man would have displayed. "He was," said Short, "the best hand at husking corn on the stalk I ever saw. I used to consider myself very good; but he would gather two loads to my one."

These visits increased Short's disposition to serve him; and he helped him sorely when he heard Lincoln moaning about the catastrophe that hung over him in the form of Van Bergen's judgment. "An execution was issued," says he, "and [illegible] Lincoln's horse, saddle, bridle, compass, chain, and [illegible]ary surveyor's instruments. He was then very much distressed and said he would let the whole thing go by the board. He was at my house very much, — half the time. I used to try to put him in better spirits. I went on the [illegible] with him; and when the sale came off, which Mr. Lincoln did not attend, I bid in the above property [illegible] twenty dollars, and immediately gave it back to him. Mr. Lincoln afterwards repaid me when he [illegible] to Springfield. Greene also turned in on [illegible] his horse, saddle, and bridle at a hundred [illegible] dollars; and Lincoln afterwards repaid [illegible]

[illegible], Mr. Lincoln had no friend more intimate than [illegible] Armstrong, nor one that valued him more highly. [illegible] finally left New Salem for Springfield, he "[illegible] occasionally at Jack's hospitable cabin, situated [illegible] in the country," as the polished metropolitans

of New Salem would say. Jack's wife, Hannah, before alluded to, liked Abe, and enjoyed his visits not less than Jack did. "Abe would come out to our house," she says, "drink milk, eat mush, corn-bread, and butter, bring the children candy, and rock the cradle while I got him something to eat. . . . I foxed his pants; made his shirts . . . He has gone with us to father's; he would tell stories, joke people, girls and boys, at parties. He would nurse babies, — do any thing to accommodate anybody. . . . I had no books about my house; loaned him none. We didn't think about books and papers. We worked; had to live. Lincoln has staid at our house two or three weeks at a time."

If Jack had "to work to live," as his wife has it, he was likewise constrained to fight and wrestle and tumble about with his unhappy fellow-citizens, in order to enjoy the life he earned by labor. He frequently came "to town," where his sportive inclinations ran riot, except as they were checked and regulated by the amicable interposition of Abe, — the prince of his affections, and the only man who was competent to restrain him.

"The children at school had made a wide sliding walk," from the top of Salem Hill to the river-bank, down which they rode on sleds and boards, — a distance of two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards. Now, it was one of the suggestions of Jack's passion for innocent diversion to nail up in hogsheads such of the population as incurred his displeasure, and send them adrift along this frightful descent. Sol. Spears and one Scanlon were treated to an adventure of this kind; but the hogshead in which the two were caged "leaped over an embankment, and came near killing Scanlon." After that the sport was considered less amusing, and was very much discouraged by that portion of the community who feared, that, in the absence of more convenient victims, "the boys" might light on them. Under these circumstances, Jack, for once in his life, thought it best to abandon coercion, and negotiate for subjects. He selected an elderly person of bibulous proclivities, and tempted him with a great

temptation. "Old man Jordan *agreed* to be rolled down the hill for a gallon of whiskey;" but Lincoln, fully impressed with the brutality of the pastime, and the danger to the old sot, "stopped it." Whether he did it by persuasion or force, we know not, but probably by a judicious employment of both.

"I remember once," says Mr. Ellis, "of seeing Mr. Lincoln out of temper, and laughing at the same time. It was at New Salem. The boys were having a jollification after an election. They had a large fire made of shavings and hemp-stalks; and some of the boys made a bet with a fellow that I shall call 'Ike,' that he couldn't run his little bob-tail pony through the fire. Ike took them up, and trotted his pony back about one hundred yards, to give him a good start, as he said. The boys all formed a line on either side, to make way for Ike and his pony. Presently here he come, full tilt, with his hat off; and, just as he reached the blazing fire, Ike raised in his saddle for the jump straight ahead; but pony was not of the same opinion, so he flew the track, and pitched poor Ike into the devouring element. Mr. Lincoln saw it, and ran to his assistance, saying, 'You have carried this thing far enough.' I could see he was mad, though he could not help laughing himself. The poor fellow was considerably scorched about the head and face. Jack Armstrong took him to the doctor, who shaved his head to fix him up, and put salve on the burn. I think Mr. Lincoln was a little mad at Armstrong, and Jack himself was very sorry for it. Jack gave Ike next morning a dram, his breakfast, and a seal-skin cap, and sent him home."

One cold winter day, Lincoln saw a poor fellow named "Ab Trent" hard at work chopping up "a house," which Mr. Hill had employed him to convert into firewood. Ab was bareheaded, and shivered pitifully while he worked. Lincoln watched him a few moments, and asked him what he was to get for the job. Ab answered, "One dollar;" and, pointing to his naked and suffering feet, said that he wished to buy a pair of shoes. Lincoln seized the axe, and, ordering the

boy to comfort himself at the nearest fire, chopped up 'the house' so fast that Ab and the owner were both amazed when they saw it done." According to Mr. Rutledge, "Ab remembered this act with the liveliest gratitude. Once he, being a cast-iron Democrat, determined to vote against his party and for Mr. Lincoln; but the friends, as he afterwards said with tears in his eyes, made him drunk, and he had voted against Abe. Thus he did not even have an opportunity to return the noble conduct of Mr. Lincoln by this small measure of thanks."

We have given some instances of Mr. Lincoln's unfailing disposition to succor the weak and the unfortunate. He never seems to have hesitated on account of actual or fancied danger to himself, but boldly espoused the side of the oppressed against the oppressor, whoever and whatever the latter might be. In a fistieuff or a rough-and-tumble fight, he was one of the most formidable men of the region in which he lived. It took a big bully, and a persevering one, to force him into a collision; but, being in, his enemy found good reason to beware of him. He was cool, calculating, but swift in action, and terribly strong. Nevertheless, he never promoted a quarrel, and would be at infinite trouble any time to compose one. An unnecessary broil gave him pain; and whenever there was the slightest hope of successful mediation, whether by soft speech or by the strong hand, he was instant and fearless for peace. His good-nature, his humor, his fertility in expedients, and his alliance, offensive and defensive, with Jack Armstrong, made him almost irresistible in his benevolent efforts to keep the ordinary ruffian of New Salem within decent bounds. If he was talking to Squire Godbey or Row Herndon (each of them give incidents of the kind), and he heard the sounds or saw the signs which betoken a row in the street, he would jump up, saying, "Let's go and stop it." He would push through the "ring" which was generally formed around the combatants, and, after separating the latter, would demand a truce and "a talk;" and so soon as he got them to talking, the victory was his. If it happened to

be rough Jack himself who was at the bottom of the disturbance, he usually became very much ashamed of his conduct, and offered to "treat," or do any thing else that would atone for his brutality.

Lincoln has often been seen in the old mill on the river-bank to lift a box of stones weighing from a thousand to twelve hundred pounds. Of course it was not done by a straight lift of the hands: he "was harnessed to the box with ropes and straps." It was even said he could easily raise a barrel of whiskey to his mouth when standing upright, and take a drink out of the bung-hole: but of course one cannot believe it. Frequent exhibitions of such strength doubtless had much to do with his unbounded influence over the rougher class of men.

He possessed the judicial quality of mind in a degree so eminent, and it was so universally recognized, that he never could attend a horse-race without being importuned to act as a judge, or witness a bet without assuming the responsibility of a stakeholder. "In the spring or summer of 1832," says Henry McHenry, "I had a horse-race with George Warburton. I got Lincoln, who was at the race, to be a judge of the race, much against his will and after hard persuasion. Lincoln decided correctly; and the other judge said, 'Lincoln is the fairest man I ever had to deal with: if Lincoln is in this county when I die, I want him to be my administrator, for he is the only man I ever met with that was wholly and unselfishly honest.'" His ineffable purity in determining the result of a scrub-race had actually set his colleague to thinking of his latter end.

But Lincoln endured another annoyance much worse than this. He was so generally esteemed, and so highly admired, that, when any of his neighbors had a fight in prospect, one of the parties was sure to insist upon his acting as his second. Lincoln was opposed to fights, but there were some fights that had to be fought; and these were "set," a day fixed, and the neighborhood notified. In these cases there was no room for the offices of a mediator; and when the affair was pre-ordained,

"and must come off," Mr. Lincoln had no excuse for denying the request of a friend.

"Two neighbors, Harry Clark and Ben Wilcox," says Mr. Rutledge, "had had a lawsuit. The defeated declared, that, although he was beaten in the suit, he could whip his opponent. This was a formal challenge, and was at once carried to the ears of the victor (Wilcox), and as promptly accepted. The time, place, and seconds were chosen with due regularity; Mr. Lincoln being Clark's, and John Brewer, Wilcox's second. The parties met, stripped themselves all but their breeches, went in, and Mr. Lincoln's principal was beautifully whipped. These combats were conducted with as much ceremony and punctiliousness as ever graced the duelling-ground. After the conflict, the seconds conducted their respective principals to the river, washed off the blood, and assisted them to dress. During this performance, the second of the party opposed to Mr. Lincoln remarked, 'Well, Abe, my man has whipped yours, and I can whip you.' Now, this challenge came from a man who was very small in size. Mr. Lincoln agreed to fight, provided he would chalk out his size on Mr. Lincoln's person, and every blow struck outside of that mark should be counted foul. After this sally, there was the best possible humor, and all parties were as orderly as if they had been engaged in the most harmless amusement."

In 1834 Lincoln was again a candidate for the Legislature, and this time was elected by a larger majority than any other man on the ticket. By this time the party with which he acted in the future was "discriminated as Whig;" and he did not hesitate to call himself a Whig, although he sought and received the votes of a great many Democrats. Just before the time had arrived for candidates to announce themselves, he went to John T. Stuart, and told him "the Democrats wanted to run him." He made the same statement to Ninian W. Edwards. Edwards and Stuart were both his personal and political friends, and they both advised him to let the Democrats have their way. Major Stuart's advice was certainly disinterested; for, in pursuance of it, two of the Whig

candidates, Lincoln and Dawson, made a bargain with the Democrats which very nearly proved fatal to Stuart himself. He was at that time the favorite candidate of the Whigs for the Legislature; but the conduct of Lincoln and Dawson so demoralized the party, that his vote was seriously diminished. Up to this time Sangamon had been stanchly Democratic; but even in this election of 1834 we perceive slight evidences of that party's decay, and so early as 1836 the county became thoroughly Whig.

We shall give no details of this campaign, since we should only be repeating what is written of the campaign of 1832. But we cannot withhold one extract from the reminiscences of Mr. Row Herndon: —

"He (Lincoln) came to my house, near Island Grove, during harvest. There were some thirty men in the field. He got his dinner, and went out in the field where the men were at work. I gave him an introduction, and the boys said they could not vote for a man unless he could make a speech. 'Well, boys,' said he, 'if that is all, I am sure of your votes.' He took hold of the cradle, and led the way all the round with perfect ease. The boys were satisfied, and I don't think he lost a vote in the crowd.

"The next day was speaking at Berlin. He went from my house with Dr. Barnett, the man that had asked me who this man Lincoln was. I told him that he was a candidate for the Legislature. He laughed and said, 'Can't the party raise no better material than that?' I said, 'Go to-morrow, and hear all before you pronounce judgment.' When he came back, I said, 'Doctor, what say you now?' 'Why, sir,' said he, 'he is a perfect take-in: he knows more than all of them put together.'"

Lincoln got 1,376 votes, Dawson 1,370, Carpenter 1,170, Stuart 1,164. Lincoln was at last duly elected a Representative by a very flattering majority, and began to look about for the pecuniary means necessary to maintain his new dignity. In this extremity he had recourse to an old friend named Coleman Smoot.

One day in 1832, while he was clerking for Offutt, a stranger came into the store, and soon disclosed the fact that his name was Smoot. Abe was behind the counter at the moment; but, hearing the name, he sprang over and introduced himself. Abe had often heard of Smoot, and Smoot had often heard of Abe. They had been as anxious to meet as ever two celebrities were; but hitherto they had never been able to manage it. "Smoot," said Lincoln, after a steady survey of his person, "I am very much disappointed in you: I expected to see an old Probst of a fellow." (Probst, it appears, was the most hideous specimen of humanity in all that country.) "Yes," replied Smoot; "and I am equally disappointed, for I expected to see a good-looking man when I saw you." A few neat compliments like the foregoing laid the foundation of a lasting intimacy between the two men, and in his present distress Lincoln knew no one who would be more likely than Smoot to respond favorably to an application for money.

"After he was elected to the Legislature," says Mr. Smoot, "he came to my house one day in company with Hugh Armstrong. Says he, 'Smoot, did you vote for me?' I told him I did. 'Well,' says he, 'you must loan me money to buy suitable clothing, for I want to make a decent appearance in the Legislature.' I then loaned him two hundred dollars, which he returned to me according to promise."

The interval between the election and his departure for the seat of government was employed by Mr. Lincoln partly in reading, partly in writing.

The community in which he lived was pre-eminently a community of free-thinkers in matters of religion; and it was then no secret, nor has it been a secret since, that Mr. Lincoln agreed with the majority of his associates in denying to the Bible the authority of divine revelation. It was his honest belief, — a belief which it was no reproach to hold at New Salem, Anno Domini 1834, and one which he never thought of concealing. It was no distinction, either good or bad, no honor, and no shame. But he had made himself thoroughly familiar with the writings of Paine and Volney, — the "Ruins"

by one, and "The Age of Reason" by the other. His mind was full of the subject, and he felt an itching to write. He did write, and the result was a "little book." It was probably merely an extended essay; but it is ambitiously spoken of as a "book" by himself and by the persons who were made acquainted with its contents. In this work he intended to demonstrate, —

"First, that the Bible was not God's revelation; and,

"Secondly, that Jesus was not the Son of God."

These were his leading propositions, and surely they were comprehensive enough; but the reader will be better able to guess at the arguments by which they were sustained, when he has examined some of the evidence recorded in Chapter XIX.

Not a copy of this little volume has survived. Mr. Lincoln [illegible] manuscript to the store of Mr. Samuel Hill, [illegible] and discussed. Hill was himself an unbeliever, [illegible] this book "infamous." It is [illegible] Hill, being a warm personal friend of [illegible] the essay would some [illegible] of his favorite. [illegible] of his hand, and thrust it into [illegible] The sequel will [illegible] but the thought was not altogether [illegible] of its injury he dreaded.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE reader is already familiar with the name of James Rutledge, the founder of New Salem, and the owner in part of the famous mill on the Sangamon. He was born in South Carolina, and was of the illustrious Rutledge family of that State. From South Carolina he emigrated to Kentucky, and thence to Illinois. In 1828 he settled at New Salem, built the mill and laid out the village in conjunction with Mr. Cameron, a retired minister of the Cumberland Presbyterians. Mr. Rutledge's character seems to have been pure and high; for wherever his name occurs in the voluminous records before us, — in the long talks and the numerous epistles of his neighbors, — it is almost invariably coupled with some expression of genuine esteem and respect.

At one time, and along with his other business, — which appears to have been quite extensive and various, — Mr. Rutledge kept the tavern, the small house with four rooms on the main street of New Salem, just opposite Lincoln's grocery. There Mr. Lincoln came to board late in 1832, or early in 1833. The family consisted of the father, mother, and nine children, — three of them born in Kentucky and six in Illinois; three grown up, and the rest quite young. Ann, the principal subject of this chapter, was the third child. She was born on the 7th of January, 1813, and was about nineteen years of age when Mr. Lincoln came to live in the house.

When Ann was a little maiden just turned of seventeen, and still attending the school of that redoubtable pedagogue Minter Graham, there came to New Salem a young gentleman

of singular enterprise, tact, and capacity for business. He is identical with the man whom we have already quoted as "the pioneer of New Salem as a business point," and who built the first storehouse there at the extravagant cost of fifteen dollars. He took boarding with Mr. Rutledge's friend and partner, James Cameron, and gave out his name as John McNeil. He came to New Salem with no other capital than good sense and an active and plucky spirit; but somehow fortune smiled indiscriminately on all his endeavors, and very soon — as early as the latter part of 1832 — he found himself a well-to-do and prosperous man, owning a snug farm seven miles north of New Salem, and a half-interest in the largest store of the place. This latter property his partner, Samuel Hill, bought from him at a good round sum; for McNeil now announced his intention of being absent for a brief period, and his purpose was such that he might need all his available capital.

In the mean time the partners, Hill and McNeil, had both fallen in love with Ann Rutledge, and both courted her with devoted assiduity. But the contest had long since been decided in favor of McNeil, and Ann loved him with all her susceptible and sensitive heart. When the time drew near for McNeil to depart, he confided to Ann a strange story, — and, in the eyes of a person less fond, a very startling story. His name was not John McNeil at all, but John McNamar. His family was a highly respectable one in the State of New York; but a few years before his father had failed in business, and there was great distress at home. He (John) then conceived the romantic plan of running away, and, at some undefined place in the far West, making a sudden fortune with which to retrieve the family disaster. He fled accordingly, changed his name to avoid the pursuit of his father, found his way to New Salem, and — she knew the rest. He was now able to perform that great act of filial piety which he set out to accomplish: would return at once to the relief of his parents, and, in all human probability, bring them back with him to his new home in Illinois. At all events, she might

look for his return as speedily as the [illegible] with ordinary diligence; and thenceforward there should be no more partings between him and his fair Ann. She [illegible] this tale, because she loved the man that told it; [illegible] would have believed it all the same if it had been ten times as incredible. A wise man would have rejected it with scorn, but the girl's instinct was a better guide: and McNamar proved to be all that he said he was, although poor Ann never saw the proof which others got of it.

McNamar rode away "on old Charley," an antiquated steed that had seen hard usage in the Black Hawk War. Charley was slow, stumbled dreadfully, and caused his rider much annoyance and some hard swearing. On this provoking animal McNamar jogged through the long journey from New Salem to New York, and arrived there after many delays only to find that his broken and dispirited father was fast sinking into the grave. After all his efforts, he was too late: the father could never enjoy the prosperity which the long-absent and long-silent son had brought him. McNamar wrote to Ann that there was sickness in the family, and he could not return at the time appointed. Then there were other and still other postponements; "circumstances over which he had no control" prevented his departure from time to time, until years had rolled away, and Ann's heart had grown sick with hope deferred. She never quite gave him up, but continued to expect him until death terminated her melancholy watch. His inexplicable delay, however, the infrequency of his letters, and their unsatisfactory character, — these and something else had broken her attachment, and toward the last she waited for him only to ask a release from her engagement, and to say that she preferred another and a more urgent suitor. But without his knowledge and formal renunciation of his claim upon her, she did not like to marry; and, in obedience to this refinement of honor, she postponed her union with the more pressing lover until Aug. 25, 1835, when, as many persons believe, she died of a broken heart.

[illegible] Sh[illegible] was in some way [illegible] the Rut[illegible] [illegible] Lincoln visited Ann two or three times [illegible] [illegible]. According to him, "Miss Rutledge was [illegible], lively girl, a good housekeeper, with a [illegible], and without any of the so-called accom-[illegible] L. M. Greene, who knew her well, talks about [illegible] beautiful and very amiable young woman;" and [illegible] Greene is even more enthusiastic. "This young [illegible] language of the latter gentleman, "was a woman [illegible]: but her intellect was quick, sharp, deep, [illegible] as well as brilliant. She had as gentle and [illegible] as an angel, full of love, kindliness, and sympa-[illegible] S[illegible] beloved by everybody, and everybody respected [illegible] so sweet and angelic was she. Her charac-[illegible] good: it was positively noted throughout [illegible] She was a woman worthy of Lincoln's love." [illegible], her unfortunate lover, says, "Miss Ann was a gen-[illegible] maiden, without any of the airs of your city [illegible], but winsome and comely withal; a blonde in complex-[illegible] golden hair, cherry-red lips, and a bonny blue eye." Even the women of the neighborhood united with the men to praise the name of this beautiful but unhappy girl. Mrs. Hannah Bale "knew her well. She had auburn hair, blue eyes, fair complexion; was a slim, pretty, kind, tender, good-hearted woman; in height about five feet three inches, and weighed about a hundred and twenty pounds. She was be-loved by all who knew her. McNamar, Hill, and Lincoln all courted her near the same time. She died as it were of grief. Miss Rutledge was [illegible]utiful." Such was Ann Rutledge, the girl in whose grave Mr. Lincoln said, "My heart lies buried."

When Mr. Lincoln first saw Ann, she was probably the most refined woman with whom he had then ever spoken, — a modest, delicate creature, fascinating by reason of the mere contrast with the rude people by whom they were both surrounded. She had a secret, too, and a sorrow, — the unexplained and painful absence of McNamar, — which no doubt made her all the more interesting to him whose spirit was often

even more melancholy than her own. It would be hard to trace the growth of such an attachment at a time and place so distant; but that it actually grew, and became an intense and mutual passion, the evidence before us is painfully abundant.

Mr. Lincoln was always welcome at the little tavern, at Short's on the Sand Ridge, or at the farm, half a mile from Short's, where the Rutledges finally abode. Ann's father was his devoted friend, and the mother he called affectionately "Aunt Polly." It is probable that the family looked upon McNamar's delay with more suspicion than Ann did herself. At all events, all her adult relatives encouraged the suit which Lincoln early began to press; and as time, absence, and apparent neglect, gradually told against McNamar, she listened to him with augmenting interest, until, in 1835, we find them formally and solemnly betrothed. Ann now waited only for the return of McNamar to marry Lincoln. David Rutledge urged her to marry immediately, without regard to any thing but her own happiness; but she said she could not consent to it until McNamar came back and released her from her pledge. At length, however, as McNamar's re-appearance became more and more hopeless, she took a different view of it, and then thought she would become Abe's wife as soon as he found the means of a decent livelihood. "Ann told me once," says James M. in a letter to R. B. Rutledge, in coming from camp-meeting on Rock Creek, "that engagements made too far ahead sometimes failed; that one *had* failed (meaning her engagement with McNamar), and gave me to understand, that, as soon as certain studies were completed, she and Lincoln would be married."

In the summer of 1835 Ann showed unmistakable symptoms of failing health, attributable, as most of the neighborhood believed, to the distressing attitude she felt bound to maintain between her two lovers. On the 25th of August, in that year, she died of what the doctors chose to call "brain-fever." In a letter to Mr. Herndon, her brother says, "You suggest that the probable cause of Ann's sickness was her conflicts, emotions, &c. As to this I cannot say. I, however, have my

[illegible] But [illegible] Jonathan [illegible] in [illegible] was [illegible] He was [illegible] as William Green tells us, [illegible] weather, for fear of an [illegible] piteously, declaring, [illegible] of his woe, "I can never be [illegible] the snow, rains, and storms to beat upon [illegible]

[illegible] of a mile below New Salem, at the [illegible] mill, and in a hollow between two lateral [illegible] the house of Bowlin Greene, built of logs and [illegible] Thither the friends of Lincoln, who appre[illegible] of reason, determined to transport [illegible] for the benefit of a mere change of scene, and [illegible] within constant reach of his near and [illegible] Bowlin Greene. During this period of his darkened and wavering intellect, when "accidents" were most [illegible] it was discovered that Bowlin Greene possessed a power to persuade and guide him proportioned to the [illegible] that had subsisted between them in former and better [illegible] Bowlin Greene came for him, but Lincoln was cunning, [illegible] obstinate: it required the most artful practices of a [illegible] conspiracy of all his friends to "disarm his suspicions," [illegible] him to go and stay with his most anxious and [illegible] friend. But at last they succeeded; and Lincoln [illegible] down under the bluff for two or three weeks, the [illegible] of undisguised solitude and of the strictest surveil[illegible] At the end of that time his mind seemed to be restored, [illegible] it was thought safe to let him go back to his old haunts, —

to the study of law, to the writing of legal papers for his neighbors, to pettifogging before the justice of the peace, and perhaps to a little surveying. But Mr. Lincoln was never precisely the same man again. At the time of his release he was thin, haggard, and careworn, — like one risen from the verge of the grave. He had always been subject to fits of great mental depression, but after this they were more frequent and alarming. It was then that he began to repeat, with a feeling which seemed to inspire every listener with awe, and to carry him to the fresh grave of Ann at every one of his solemn periods, the lines entitled, "Immortality; or, Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" None heard him but knew that he selected these curiously empty, yet wonderfully sad, impressive lines, to celebrate a grief which lay with continual heaviness on his heart, but to which he could not with becoming delicacy directly allude. He muttered them as he rambled through the woods, or walked by the roaring Sangamon. He was heard to murmur them to himself as he slipped into the village at nightfall, after a long walk of six miles, and an evening visit to the Concord graveyard; and he would suddenly break out with them in little social assemblies after noticeable periods of silent gloom. They came unbidden to his lips, while the air of affliction in face and gesture, the moving tones and touching modulations of his voice, made it evident that every syllable of the recitation was meant to commemorate the mournful fate of Ann. The poem is now his: the name of the obscure author is forgotten, and his work is imperishably associated with the memory of a great man, and interwoven with the history of his greatest sorrow. Mr. Lincoln's adoption of it has saved it from merited oblivion, and translated it from the "poet's corner" of the country newspaper to a place in the story of his own life, — a story that will continue to be written, or written about, as long as our language exists.

Many years afterwards, when Mr. Lincoln, the best lawyer of his section, with one exception, travelled the circuit with the court and a crowd of his jolly brethren, he always rose early, be-

[illegible] and [illegible]se was [illegible]rring, and, raking together a few glow-[illegible] [illegible] hearth, he would sit looking into them, musing and talk[illegible] [illegible]with himself, for hours together. One morning, in the year [illegible] his nomination, his companions found him in this attitude, when "Mr. Lincoln repeated aloud, and at length, the poem 'Immortality,'" indicating his preference for the [illegible] stanzas, but insisting that the entire composition "sounded to him as much like true poetry as any thing that he had ever heard."

In Carpenter's "Anecdotes and Reminiscences of President Lincoln," occurs the following passage: —

"The evening of March 22, 1864, was a most interesting [illegible] to me. I was with the President alone in his office for [illegible] hours. Busy with pen and papers when I went in, he presently threw them aside, and commenced talking to me [illegible] Shakspeare, of whom he was very fond. Little 'Tad,' [illegible]son, coming in, he sent him to the library for a copy of [illegible], and then read to me several of his favorite passages. [illegible] into a sadder strain, he laid the book aside, and, [illegible] in his chair, said, —

"[illegible] is a poem which has been a great favorite with me [illegible] was first shown to me when a young man [illegible] [illegible] I afterwards saw and cut from a news-[illegible] [illegible] by heart. I would," he continued, "give a [illegible] who wrote it, but I have never been able [illegible]

[illegible] repeated the verses to me: —

[illegible] mortal be proud?
[illegible] first flying cloud,
[illegible] the wave,
[illegible] the grave.

[illegible] fade
[illegible]
[illegible] high,
[illegible]

The infant a mother attended and loved;
The mother that infant's affection who proved;
The husband that mother and infant who blest, —
Each, all, are away to their dwellings of rest.

[The maid on whose cheek, on whose brow, in whose eye,
Shone beauty and pleasure, her triumphs are by;
And the memory of those who loved her and praised,
Are alike from the minds of the living erased.]

The hand of the king that the sceptre hath borne,
The brow of the priest that the mitre hath worn,
The eye of the sage, and the heart of the brave,
Are hidden and lost in the depths of the grave.

The peasant whose lot was to sow and to reap,
The herdsman who climbed with his goats up the steep,
The beggar who wandered in search of his bread,
Have faded away like the grass that we tread.

[The saint who enjoyed the communion of Heaven,
The sinner who dared to remain unforgiven,
The wise and the foolish, the guilty and just,
Have quietly mingled their bones in the dust.]

So the multitude goes, like the flower or the weed,
That withers away to let others succeed;
So the multitude comes, even those we behold,
To repeat every tale that has often been told.

For we are the same our fathers have been;
We see the same sights our fathers have seen;
We drink the same stream, we view the same sun,
And run the same course our fathers have run.

The thoughts we are thinking our fathers would think;
From the death we are shrinking our fathers would shrink;
To the life we are clinging they also would cling;
But it speeds from us all like a bird on the wing.

They loved, but the story we cannot unfold;
They scorned, but the heart of the haughty is cold;
They grieved, but no wail from their slumber will come;
They joyed, but the tongue of their gladness is dumb.

"They died: ay, they died: we things that are now,
That walk on the turf that lies over their brow,
And make in their dwellings a transient abode,
Meet the things that they met on their pilgrimage road.

Yea! hope and despondency, pleasure and pain,
Are mingled together in sunshine and rain:
And the smile and the tear, the song and the dirge,
Still follow each other like surge upon surge.

'Tis the wink of an eye, 'tis the draught of a breath,
From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud, —
Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud?'"

[illegible] a year or two after the death of Ann Rutledge Mr. Lincoln told Robert L. Wilson, a distinguished [illegible] in the Legislature, parts of whose letter will be [illegible] in another place, that, although "he appeared to enjoy [illegible] perfectly," it was a mistake; that, "when alone, he was [illegible] by mental depression, that he never dared to [illegible] a knife." And during all Mr. Wilson's extended [illegible] with him he never did own a knife, notwithstanding [illegible] extraordinarily fond of whittling.

Mr. [illegible] says, "He never addressed another woman [illegible] 'Yours affectionately,' and generally and clearly [illegible] abstained from the use of the word *love*. This [illegible] he had more than a half-dozen times, if that [illegible] letters and speeches since that time. I have [illegible] but he never says [illegible] with 'Yours affectionately' [illegible] A. Lincoln.'"

[illegible]

"'I want to inquire about old times [illegible], began Mr. Lincoln. 'When we lived in S[illegible] the Greenes, Potters, Armstrongs, and Rutledges [illegible] folks have got scattered all over the world. — some [illegible] Where are the Rutledges, Greenes, &c.?'

"After we had spoken over old times," continued [illegible] — "persons, circumstances, — in which he showed [illegible] derful memory, I then dared to ask him this question: —

"'May I now, in turn, ask you one question, Lincoln?'

"'Assuredly. I will answer your question, if a fair one, with all my heart.'

"'Well, Abe, is it true that you fell in love and courted Ann Rutledge?'

"'It is true, — true: indeed I did. I have loved the name of Rutledge to this day. I have kept my mind on their movements ever since, and love them dearly.'

"'Abe, is it true,'" still urged Cogdale, "'that you ran a little wild about the matter?'

"'I did really. I ran off the track. It was my first. I loved the woman dearly. She was a handsome girl; would have made a good, loving wife; was natural and quite intellectual, though not highly educated. I did honestly and truly love the girl, and think often, often, of her now.'"

A few weeks after the burial of Ann, McNamar returned to New Salem. He saw Lincoln at the post-office, and was struck with the deplorable change in his appearance. A short time afterwards Lincoln wrote him a deed, which he still has, and prizes highly, in memory of his great friend and rival. His father was at last dead; but he brought back with him his mother and her family. In December of the same year his mother died, and was buried in the same graveyard with Ann. During his absence, Col. Rutledge had occupied his farm, and there Ann died; but "the Rutledge farm" proper adjoined this one to the south. "Some of Mr. Lincoln's corners, as a surveyor, are still visible on lines traced by him on both farms."

On Sunday, the fourteenth day of October, 1866, William

[illegible] of John McNamar[illegible] [illegible] from the spot where [illegible] [illegible]. After some preliminaries no[illegible] [illegible] Mr. Herndon says, "I asked him the

[illegible] know Miss Rutledge? If so, where did she

[illegible] open window, looking westerly: and, [illegible] to himself, looked through the window and [illegible] that,' — choking up with emotion, pointing [illegible] nervous and trembling, to the spot, — [illegible] currant-bush, she died. The old house in [illegible] father died is gone.'

. . . . . .

"Although the conversation, leaving the sadness to momen[illegible]. I asked this additional question: —

"'Where was she buried?'

"'In Concord burying-ground, one mile south-east of this place.'"

Mr. Herndon sought the grave. "S. C. Berry," says he, "James Short (the gentleman who purchased in Mr. Lincoln's compass and chain in 1834, under an execution against Lin[illegible]n, or Lincoln & Berry, and gratuitously gave them back to Mr. Lincoln), James Miles, and myself were together.

"I asked Mr. Berry if he knew where Miss Rutledge was buried, [illegible] the place and exact surroundings. He replied, 'I [illegible]. The grave of Miss Rutledge lies just north of her brother's, David Rutledge, a young lawyer of great promise, who died in 1842, in his twenty-seventh year.'

"The cemetery contains but an acre of ground, in a beauti[illegible] and secluded situation. A thin skirt of timber lies on the east, commencing at the fence of the cemetery. The ribbon of timber, some fifty yards wide, hides the sun's early rise. At nine o'clock the sun pours all his rays into the cemetery. An extensive prairie lies west, the forest north, a field on the east, and timber and prairie on the south. In this lonely ground lie the Berrys, the Rutledges, the Clarys, the Arm-

strongs, and the Joneses, old and respected [illegible] of an early day. I write, or rather did [illegible] draught of this description in the immediate [illegible] ashes of Miss Ann Rutledge, the beautiful and [illegible] The village of the dead is a sad, solemn place. It [illegible] ence imposes truth on the mind of the living w[illegible] Rutledge lies buried north of her brother, and re[illegible] on his left arm, angels to guard her. The cemetery [illegible] filling with the hazel and the dead."

A lecture delivered by William H. Herndon at Springfield in 1866, contained the main outline, without the minor details, of the story here related. It was spoken, printed, and circulated without contradiction from any quarter. It was sent to the Rutledges, McNeeleys, Greenes, Short, and many other of the old residents of New Salem and Petersburg, with particular requests that they should correct any error they might find in it. It was pronounced by them all truthful and accurate; but their replies, together with a mass of additional evidence, have been carefully collated with the lecture, and the result is the present chapter. The story of Ann Rutledge, Lincoln, and McNamar, as told here, is as well proved as the fact of Mr. Lincoln's election to the Presidency.

[illegible]HAPTER IX

[illegible] who [illegible]

[illegible] Mr. L[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], say [illegible]

[illegible] north of [illegible] of a hill, stood the house of [illegible] building eighteen by twenty [illegible] warm friends of Mr. Lincoln; [illegible] the surrounding country [illegible] at their door, where [illegible] the outside, and a hearty [illegible] 1833, Mr. Lincoln met there [illegible] Mrs. Abl[illegible], and, as we shall [illegible] although [illegible] weeks, and then [illegible] Kentucky.

[illegible] married again [illegible] thought she [illegible] her stepmother. [illegible] 1836 [illegible] appeared at Able's, [illegible] New Salem [illegible] the presidential [illegible] stated and

wondered at her "beauty." Twenty eight or [illegible] years [illegible] age, "she was," in the language of Mr. L. M. Greene, [illegible] and portly; weighed about one hundred and twenty pounds, and had large blue eyes, with the finest trimming [illegible] ever saw. She was jovial, social, loved wit and humor, had a liberal English education, and was considered wealthy. "Bill," continues our excellent friend, "I am getting old; have seen too much trouble to give a lifelike picture of this woman. I won't try it. None of the poets or romance-writers has ever given [illegible] a picture of a heroine so beautiful as a good description of Miss Owens in 1836 would be."

Mrs. Hardin Bale, a cousin to Miss Owens, says [illegible] blue-eyed, dark-haired, handsome, — not pretty, — was [illegible] large and tall, handsome, truly handsome, matronly, [illegible] over ordinary size in height and weight. . . . Miss [illegible] *was* handsome, that is to say, noble-looking, [illegible] ing."

Respecting her age and looks, Miss Owens herself [illegible] the following note, Aug. 6, 1866: —

"Born in the year eight; fair skin, [illegible] eyes, [illegible] dark curling hair; height five feet five inches, [illegible] one hundred and fifty pounds."

Johnson G. Greene is Miss Owens's cousin, and [illegible] a visit to her in 1866, he contrived to get [illegible] Lincoln courtship at great length. [illegible] material part from the account current [illegible] neighborhood, and given by various persons, [illegible] written testimony is preserved in Mr. [illegible] manuscripts. Greene's description [illegible] the same as those used by Mrs. Bale [illegible] nervous and muscular [illegible] most intellectual woman he ever saw, [illegible] massive and angular, square, prominent, and [illegible]

After Miss Owens's return to New Salem, in the [illegible] Mr. Lincoln was unremitting in his attentions; and [illegible] he went he was at her side. She is [illegible] neighborhood, — the Bales, the Greenes, the [illegible] and,

[illegible] an evening with any of [illegible] on hand to conduct her [illegible] but she prudently evaded [illegible] make up her mind about [illegible] character. She did not think him [illegible] think him thoughtless, careless, [illegible] might be, — in short, "deli- [illegible] those little faults which make [illegible] ness." His heart was [illegible] sensitive; but still, [illegible] he did not seem to be [illegible] the smaller attra- [illegible] is explored when she [illegible]

of some of "the best-laid schemes of mice and men," and went "all agley."

Lincoln, according to promise, went down to Able's, and asked if Miss Owens was in. Mrs. Able replied that she had gone to Graham's, about one and a half miles from Able's due south-west. Lincoln said, "Didn't she know I was coming?" Mrs. Able answered, "No;" but one of the children said, "Yes, ma, she did, for I heard Sam tell her so." Lincoln sat a while, and then went about his business. "The fat was now in the fire. Lincoln thought, as he was extremely poor, and Miss Owens very rich, it was a fling on him on that account. Abe was mistaken in his guesses, for wealth cut no figure in Miss Owens's eyes. Miss Owens regretted her course. Abe would not bend; and Miss Owens wouldn't. She said, if she had it to do over again she would play the cards differently. . . . She had two sons in the Southern army. She said that if either of them had got into difficulty, she would willingly have gone to old Abe for relief."

In Miss Owens's letter of July 22, 1866, it will be observed that she tacitly admitted to Mr. Gaines Greene "the circumstances in connection with Mrs. Greene and child." Although she here denies the precise words alleged to have been used by her in the little quarrel at the top of the hill, she does not deny the impression his conduct left upon her mind, but presents additional evidence of it by the relation of another incident of similar character, from which her inferences were the same.

Fortunately we are not compelled to rely upon tradition, however authentic, for the facts concerning this interesting episode in Mr. Lincoln's life. Miss Owens is still alive to tell her own tale, and we have besides his letters to the lady herself. Mr. Lincoln wrote his account of it as early as 1838. As in duty bound, we shall permit the lady to speak first. At her particular request, her present name and residence are suppressed.

———, May 1, 1866.

Mr. W. H. Herndon.

Sir: — After quite a struggle with my feelings, I have at last decided to send you the letters in my possession written by Mr. Lincoln, believing, as I do, that you are a gentleman of honor, and will faithfully abide by all you promise.

My acquaintance with your lamented friend were in Menard County, whilst visiting a sister, who then resided near Petersburg. I have learned that my mother's letter is now in your possession; and you have ere this, no doubt, learned that I am a native Kentuckian.

Although Miss Rutledge, I cannot truly say in any thing, she having *died* before my acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln, and I do not now recollect [illegible] mention her name. Please return the letters at your convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

Mary S. ———.

———, May 22, 1866.

Mr. W. H. Herndon.

Sir: — Really you are too business-like in your lawyer style; but I feel [illegible] the good [illegible] exists, even if I believe answering all your questions, I assure you that few women would have acted as I have under all the circumstances.

You may have heard why our acquaintance terminated as it did. I, [illegible] the same idle gossip that I never used the remark which Miss Rutledge says I did to Mr. Lincoln. I think I did on one occasion say to him, who was very anxious for us to be married, that I thought [illegible] these little links which make up the chain of happiness, — at least, it was so in my case. Not that I believed it [illegible] a lack of goodness of heart, but his training had been different [illegible] there was not that congeniality which would [illegible]

[illegible] I had w[illegible] at my [illegible] listen to [illegible] the years I left [illegible] our acquaintance and correspondence [illegible] renewed.

My [illegible] in Green County, Kentucky, was a [illegible] [illegible] personal [illegible] placed [illegible] Lincoln.

Respectfully yours,

Mary S. ———

——, July [illegible], 1866.

Mr. W. H. Herndon

Dear Sir: — I make out that you are quite [illegible] relative to Mrs. Bowlin Greene, because I wish to [illegible] question. Your information is, no doubt, come through my cousin, Mrs. [illegible] Greene, who visited us last winter. Whilst here, he was [illegible] Mr. Lincoln, and among other things spoke about the [illegible] he had had with Mrs. Greene and child. My impression is [illegible] acquainted, for it was a season of *tender* with me, and I [illegible] heed to the matter. We never had any *hard feelings* [illegible] that I know of. On no occasion, so far I say to Mr. Lincoln [illegible] he would make a kind husband, because he did not [illegible] Mrs. Greene in helping of her carry her baby. As I said [illegible] letter, I thought him lacking in smaller attentions. [illegible] presents itself just now to my mind's eye. There was a [illegible] to Cousin Billy Greene's. Mr. Lincoln was riding with [illegible] very hard on such occasions. The other gentlemen were very [illegible] that their partner got over safely. We were [illegible] looking back to see how I got along. When I rode [illegible] remarked, "You are a novice on wheels." I suppose [illegible] neck was broken or not." He laughingly replied (I simply [illegible] gallantry) that he knew I was plenty smart to take care of myself.

In many things he was so [illegible] almost to a fault. He [illegible] incident. That he was crossing a prairie one day, and saw before him [illegible] mired down," to use his own language. He was rather [illegible] he resolved that he would pass it without looking towards the [illegible] he had gone by, he said, "Pitying was irresistible, and I [illegible] back, and the poor thing seemed to say westitude, 'There, [illegible] is gone!' And he dismounted, got down, and [illegible] it from its difficulty."

In many things we were congenial spirits. In politics we saw eye to eye, though since then we differ I as widely as the South is from the North. But methinks I hear you say, "Says me, you a political woman!" So I am!

The last message I ever received from him was about a year after we parted in Illinois. Mrs. Ann visited Kentucky; and [illegible] field, "Tell your sister that I think she was right at [illegible] not stay here, and marry me."

Characteristic of the man.

Respectfully yours,

MARY S. ——

VANDALIA, Dec. 13, 1866.

MARY, — I have been sick ever since my arrival, or I should have written sooner. It is but little difference, however, as I have very little even yet to write. And more, the longer I can avoid the mortification of looking in the

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr. and Mrs. [illegible]

Yours truly,

LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, May [illegible]

M[illegible]

[illegible] Springfield is rather a [illegible] place. I am quite as lonesome here as I ever was anywhere in my life. I feel as if I should be [illegible] but one woman since I [illegible] and she [illegible] here, if she could have avoided it. I've never been

to church [illegible] your pr[illegible]bably shall not be sorry. I stay aw[illegible] I am conscious I should not know how to behave myself.

I am often thinking about what we said of your coming to live in Springfield. I am afraid you would not be satisfied. There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages here, which it would be your duty to [illegible] without sharing it. You would have to be poor without the means of [illegible] your poverty. Do you believe you could be [illegible] that patient? [illegible] man may cast her lot with mine, should any one so [illegible] my [illegible] do all in my power to make her happy and comfortable [illegible] I can [illegible] that would make me more unhappy than [illegible] I know I should be much happier with you than the way I am now [illegible] I saw no signs of discontent in you. What you have said [illegible] in the way of jest, or I may have misunderstood it. [illegible] be forgotten if otherwise I much wish you would think seriously [illegible] you decide. For my part, I have already decided. What I [illegible] I will most positively abide by, provided you wish it. My opinion is, [illegible] had better not do it. You have not been accustomed to be [illegible] may be more severe than you now imagine. I know you are a good [illegible] thinking correctly on any subject; and, if you deliberate maturely upon the [illegible] can decide, then I am willing to abide your decision.

You must write me a *good* long letter after you get this. You have nothing else to do, and, though it might not seem interesting [illegible] after you have written it, it would be a great deal of company [illegible] this "blue-winged [illegible]." Tell your sister, I don't want to hear [illegible] about selling out and moving. That gives me the hypo whenever I think of it.

Yours, &c.,

LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 16, 1841.

FRIEND MARY. — You will no doubt think it rather strange that I should write you a letter so soon after the same day on which we parted; and I can only account for it by supposing that seeing you lately makes me think of you more than usual; while at our late meeting we had but few expressions of thoughts. You must know that I cannot see you, or think of you, with entire indifference; and yet it may be that you are mistaken in regard to what my real feelings toward you are. If I knew you were so, I should not trouble you with this letter. Perhaps any other man would know enough without further information; but I consider it *my* peculiar right to plead ignorance, and your boundless duty to allow the plea. I want in all cases to deal [illegible] and most particularly so in all cases with women. I want, at this particular time, more than any thing else, to do right with you; and if I *knew* it would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would, to let you alone, I would do it. And, for the purpose of making the matter as plain as possible, I now say

She is decently resigned to the consciousness [illegible] professing to be honest and candid, it should [illegible] light in these pages. Its grotesque humour, its [illegible] anxious in describing the person of a lady whom [illegible] as willing to marry, its unfortunate [illegible] of toothless [illegible] beaten old age [illegible] woman [illegible] young [illegible] utter lack of [illegible] naturally expects a [illegible] to discuss the merits of his late mistress, [illegible] defective orthography, it would certainly be [illegible] to suppress [illegible] publish. But [illegible] or mutilating a document [illegible] part of his [illegible] may we not [illegible] [illegible] we shall [illegible] [illegible] the Artist also [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible]

In April, 1859, Miss Owens [illegible] and in that same month Mr. Lincoln wrote [illegible]

SPRINGFIELD, [illegible]

DEAR MADAM,—Well, at your [illegible] [illegible]

time, which I really dreaded as much, perhaps more, than an Indian does the halter.

After all my suffering upon this deeply-interesting subject, I am, wholly, unexpectedly, completely, out of the scrape; and I now want to know if you can guess how I got out of it. Out, clear, in every sense of the term; no violation of word, honor, or conscience. I don't believe you can guess, and so I might as well tell you at once. As the saw is supposed to be done in the manner following, to wit: After I had delayed as long as I thought I could in honor do (which, by the way, was right up the round into the last full), I concluded I might as well bring it to a termination without further delay; and so I mustered my resolution and made the proposal to her direct; but, shocking to relate, she answered "No." At first I supposed she did it through an affectation of modesty, which I thought but ill became her under the peculiar circumstances of her case; but, on my renewal of the charge, I found she repeated it with greater firmness than before. I tried it again and again, but with the same success, or rather with the same want of success.

I finally was forced to give it up; at which I very unexpectedly fell myself mortified almost beyond endurance. I was mortified, it seemed to me, in a hundred different ways. My vanity was deeply wounded by the reflection that I had so long been too stupid to discover her intentions, and at the same time never doubting that I understood the subject fully; and also that she, whom I had taught myself to believe nobody else would have, had actually rejected me with all my fancied greatness. And, to cap the whole, I then, for the first time, began to suspect that I was really a little in love with her. But let it all go. I'll try and outlive it. Others have been made fools of by the girls; but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself. I have now come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying, and for this reason: I can never be satisfied with any one who would be blockhead enough to have me.

When you receive this, write me a long yarn about something to amuse me. Give my respects to Mr. Browning.

Your sincere friend,

A. LINCOLN.

MRS. O. H. BROWNING

in its own conceit, and was not slow to launch out with the first of a series of magnificent experiments. It contented itself, however, with chartering a State bank, with a capital of one million five hundred thousand dollars; rechartering, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars, the Shawneetown Bank, which had broken twelve years before; and providing for a loan of five hundred thousand dollars, on the credit of the State, wherewith to make a beginning on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The bill for the latter project was drawn and introduced by Senator James M. Strode, the gentleman who described with such moving eloquence the horrors of Stillman's defeat. These measures Gov. Ford considers "the beginning of all the bad legislation which followed in a few years, and which, as is well known, resulted in general ruin." Mr. Lincoln favored them all, and faithfully followed out the policy of which they were the inauguration at subsequent sessions of the same body. For the present, nevertheless, he was a silent member, although he was assigned a prominent place on the Committee on Public Accounts and Expenditures. The bank-charters were drawn by a Democrat who hoped to find his account in the issue; all the bills were passed by a Legislature "nominally" Democratic; but the Board of Canal Commissioners was composed exclusively of Whigs, and the Whigs straightway assumed control of the banks.

It was at a special session of this Legislature that Lincoln first saw Stephen A. Douglas, and, viewing his active little person with immense amusement, pronounced him "the *least* man he ever saw." Douglas had come into the State (from Vermont) only the previous year, but, having studied law for several months, considered himself eminently qualified to be State's attorney for the district in which he lived, and was now come to Vandalia for that purpose. The place was already filled by a man of considerable distinction; but the incumbent remaining at home, possibly in blissful ignorance of his neighbor's design, was easily supplanted by the supple Vermonter.

[illegible]

In 18[illegible] M[illegible] [illegible] Edward[illegible] R. [illegible] W[illegible]son, and [illegible] [illegible]

M[illegible] Lin[illegible] the campaign [illegible] the following mani-festo: —

[illegible]

and upon all others I shall do what my own judgment teaches me will best advance their interests. Whether elected or not, I [illegible] ting the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to the several States [illegible] in our State, in common with others, to dig canals and construct railroads without borrowing money and paying the interest on it.

If alive on the first Monday in November, I shall vote for Hugh L. White for President.

Very respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

The elections were held on the first Monday in August, and the campaign began about six weeks or two months before. Popular meetings were advertised in "The Sangamon Journal" and "The State Register," — organs of the respective parties. Not unfrequently the meetings were joint, — composed of both parties, — when, as Lincoln would say, the candidates "put in their best licks," while the audience "rose to the height of the great argument" with cheers, taunts, cat-calls, fights, and other exercises appropriate to the free and untrammelled enjoyment of the freeman's boon.

The candidates travelled from one grove to another on horseback; and, when the "Long Nine" (all over six feet in height) took the road, it must have been a goodly sight to see.

"I heard Lincoln make a speech," says James Gourly, "in Mechanicsburg, Sangamon County, in 1836. John Neal had a fight at the time: the roughs got on him, and Lincoln jumped in and saw fair play. We staid for dinner at Green's, close to Mechanicsburg, — drank whiskey sweetened with honey. There the questions discussed were internal improvements, Whig principles." (Gourly was a great friend of Lincoln's, for Gourly had had a foot-race "with H. B. Truett, now of California," and Lincoln had been his "judge;" and it was a remarkable circumstance, that nearly everybody for whom Lincoln "judged" came out ahead.)

"I heard Mr. Lincoln during the same canvass," continues Gourly. "It was at the Court House, where the State House now stands. The Whigs and Democrats had a general quarrel then and there. N. W. Edwards drew a pistol on Achilles Morris." But Gourly's account of this last scene is

"At the conclusion of Lincoln's speec[illegible] from Mr. Speed), "the crowd was dispersing, when Forquer [illegible] and asked to be heard. He commenced [illegible] that the young man would have to be taken down [illegible] thus the task devolved upon him. He then [illegible] to answer Lincoln's speech in a style, which, [illegible] fair, yet, in his whole manner, asserted and [illegible] superiority. Lincoln stood near him, and wr[illegible] the whole of his speech. When Forquer con[illegible] stand again. I have often heard him [illegible] before the people, but never saw him app[illegible] that occasion. He replied to Mr. Forquer [illegible] and force; but I shall never forget the [illegible] speech. Turning to Mr. Forquer, he said, that he [illegible] commenced his speech by announcing that [illegible] would have to be taken down. Turning then to the crowd, he said, 'It is for you, not for me, to say whether I [illegible] or down.' The gentleman has alluded to my [illegible] man: I am older in years than I am [illegible] of politicians. I [illegible] sire to live, and I desire [illegible] tinction as a politician; but I would [illegible] like the gentleman dive to see [illegible] erect a lightning-rod to prevent [illegible] offended God.'"

He afterwards told Speed that the sight of [illegible] "had led him to the study of the principles of [illegible] the utility of the ideas advocated."

Among the Democrats of note stumping the county [illegible] time was Dick Taylor, a jaunty gentleman, [illegible] in superb attire, ruffled shirts, [illegible] chains, with shining and spirited pendants. But Dick [illegible] severe Democrat in theory, made much of "the hard-handed yeomanry," and flung many biting sarcasms [illegible] the aristocratic pretensions of the Whigs,—the "[illegible]" and "[illegible] manufacturing "lords." He was one day [illegible] of a particularly aggravating declamation [illegible] began to feel devilish, and thought he would take [illegible]

"nominal Jackson men;" that is to say, men who continued to act with the Democratic party, while disavowing its cardinal principles, — traders, trimmers, cautious schismatics who argued the cause of Democracy from a brief furnished by the enemy. The diversion in favor of White was just to the hand of the Whigs, and they aided it in every practicable way. Always for an expedient when an expedient would answer, a compromise when a compromise would do, the "hand" Mr. Lincoln "showed" at the opening of the campaign contained the "White" card among the highest of its trumps. "If alive on the first Monday in November, I shall vote for Hugh L. White for President." A number of local Democratic politicians assisting him to play it, it won the game in 1836, and Sangamon County went over to the Whigs.

At this election Mr. Douglas was made a Representative from Morgan County, along with Col. Hardin, from whom he had the year before taken the State's attorneyship. The event is notable principally because Mr. Douglas was nominated by a convention, and not by the old system of self-announcement, which, under the influence of Eastern immigrants, like himself, full of party zeal, and attached to the customs of the places whence they came, was gradually but surely falling into disfavor. Mr. Douglas served only one session, and then became Register of the Land Office at Springfield. The next year he was nominated for Congress in the Peoria District, under the convention system, and in the same year Col. Stephenson was nominated for Governor in the same way. The Whigs were soon compelled to adopt the device which they saw marshalling the Democrats in a state of complete discipline; whilst they themselves were disorganized by a host of volunteer candidates and the operations of innumerable cliques and factions. At first "it was considered a Yankee contrivance," intended to abridge the liberties of the people; but the Whig "people" were as fond of victory, offices, and power as their enemies were, and in due time they took very kindly to this effectual means of gaining

Democrats." Mr. Lincoln chose his company "with a commendable decision, and wasted no tender regrets upon those "moneyed" Democratic friends. For Winter [illegible] November, 1836, he led the Whigs into action with a [illegible] legislature met in December; and when the hard-fought campaign of 1840 commenced, with its endless meetings [illegible] its coon-skins and log-cabins, its intrigue, its [illegible] musical voice rose loudest above the din for "Old Tippecanoe;" and no man did better service or enjoyed those [illegible] able scenes more than he who was to be the beneficiary of a similar revival in 1860.

When the legislature met in the winter of 1836–7, the bank and internal-improvement combination had [illegible] full possession of a majority of the people, as well as of the politicians. To be sure, "Old Hickory" had given a temporary check to the wild speculations in Western lands by the specie circular, about the close of his administration, which by gold and silver were made "hard-office money;" and the Government declined to exchange any more of the public domain for the depreciated paper of rotten and explosive banks. Millions of notes loaned by the banks on insufficient security or no security at all were by this timely measure turned back into the banks, or converted to the uses of a more legitimate and less dangerous business. But, even if the specie [illegible] had not been repeated, it would probably have proved impotent against the evils it was designed to prevent, after the passage of the Act distributing among the States the surplus or supposed surplus revenues of the Federal Government.

The last dollar of the old debt was paid in 1833. There were from time to time large unexpended and unappropriated balances in the treasury. What should be done with them? There was no sub-treasury as yet, and questions concerning the mere safe-keeping of these moneys excited the most tremendous political contests. The United States Bank had always had the use of the cash in the treasury in the form of deposits; but the bank abused its trust, — used its enormous power over the currency and exchanges of the country to

that of the United States, closed their doors to customers and bill-holders, which gave them more time to hold popular meetings, imputing the distress of the country to the hard money policy of Jackson and Van Buren, and agitating for the re-charter of Mr. Biddle's profligate concern as the only remedy human ingenuity could devise.

It was in the month previous to the first deposit with the States, — about the time when Gov. Ford says, "lands and town-lots were the only articles of export" from Illinois; when the counters of Western land-offices were paid high with illusory bank-notes in exchange for public lands, and when it was believed that the West was now at last about to bound forward in a career of unexampled prosperity, under the forcing process of public improvements by the States, with the aid and countenance of the Federal Government, — that Mr. Lincoln went up to attend the first session of the new Legislature at Vandalia. He was big with projects: his real public service was just now about to begin. In the previous Legislature he had been silent, observant, studious. He had improved the opportunity so well, that of all men in this new body, of equal age in the service, he was the smartest parliamentarian and the cunningest "log-roller." He was fully determined to identify himself conspicuously with the "liberal" legislation in contemplation, and dreamed of a fame very different from that which he actually obtained as an anti-slavery leader. It was about this time that he told his friend, Mr. Speed, that he aimed at the great distinction of being called "the De Witt Clinton of Illinois."

Meetings with a view to this sort of legislation had been held in all, or nearly all, the counties in the State during the preceding summer and fall. Hard-money, strict-construction, no-monopoly, anti-progressive Democrats were in a sad minority. In truth, there was little division of parties about these matters which were deemed so essential to the prosperity of a new State. There was Mr. Lincoln, and there was Mr. Douglas, in perfect unison as to the grand object to be accomplished, but mortally jealous as to which should take the lead

of engineers, or even unprofessional [illegible] "Progress" was [illegible] "Internal Improvements." [illegible] Lincoln, and being [illegible] shall of [illegible] West Indies," [illegible] that the [illegible] would build [illegible] would [illegible] a field, [illegible] and the [illegible] good [illegible] both some [illegible] State [illegible] was [illegible] State [illegible] any [illegible] coffers [illegible] from being [illegible] from the [illegible] proposed.

A Board [illegible] was [illegible] tem," a Board [illegible] Commissioners and [illegible] Commissioners of Public Works.

The capital stock of the Shawneetown Bank [illegible] to one million [illegible] State Bank [illegible] State took the [illegible] surplus revenue of the United States, and the [illegible] of State bonds." The banks were [illegible] to place the loans, and generally to manage [illegible] canal funds. The [illegible] interesting chapter in the history [illegible] than the rise and collapse of the great internal [illegible] system. But, as it has already [illegible] scope and greater merit than this, [illegible] due time they went the way of their kind. [illegible]

almost as a unit in favor of the internal-improvement system in return for which the active supporters of that system were to vote for Springfield to be the seat of government. Thus it was made to cost the State about six millions of dollars to remove the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield, half of which sum would have purchased all the requisite in that town at three prices; and thus by log-rolling on the canal measure; by multiplying railroads; by terminating the railroads at Alton, that Alton might become a great city in opposition to St. Louis; by distributing money to some of the counties to be wasted by the county commissioners; and by giving the seat of government to Springfield, — was the whole State bought up, and bribed to approve the most senseless and disastrous policy which ever crippled the energies of a growing country."[1]

Enumerating the gentlemen who voted for this combination of evils, — among them Stephen A. Douglas, John A. McClernand, James Shields, and Abraham Lincoln, — and citing the high places of honor and trust to which most of them have since attained, Gov. Ford pronounces that "none spared monuments of popular wrath, evincing how safe it is to a politician, but how disastrous it may be to the country, to keep along with the present fervor of the people."

"It was a maxim with many politicians just to keep along even with the humor of the people, right or wrong;" and this maxim Mr. Lincoln held then, as ever since, in very high estimation. But the "humor" of his constituents was now so intensely favorable to the new scheme of internal improvements: it was most decidedly their "humor" to have the capital at Springfield, and to make a great man of the legislator who should take it there. Mr. Lincoln was doubtless thoroughly convinced that the popular view of all these matters was the right one; but, even if he had been unhappily afflicted with individual scruples of his own, he would have deemed it his simple duty to obey the almost unanimous voice of his constituency. He thought he never could serve them better than

[1] Ford's History of Illinois.

[illegible] thorough knowledge of [illegible] been an overmatch for his compeers, and [illegible] force ever known."

"We surmounted all obstacles, passed [illegible] point vote of both Houses, located the [illegible] of the State of Illinois at Springfield, just [illegible] ment of the Legislature, which took place on [illegible] of March, 1837. The delegation acting during [illegible] session upon all questions as a unit, gave them [illegible] influence, that enabled them to carry through their [illegible] and give efficient aid to their friends. The delegation [illegible] not only remarkable for their numbers, but for their [illegible] most of them measuring six feet and over. It was [illegible] the time that that delegation measured fifty-four [illegible] Hence they were known as '*The Long Nine*.' So [illegible] ing that session, and for a number of years after [illegible] the bad laws passed at that session of the Legislature [illegible] chargeable to the management and influence of 'The Long Nine.' . . .

"He (Mr. Lincoln) was on the stump and in the [illegible] of the Legislature a ready debater, manifesting extraordinary ability in his peculiar manner of presenting his subject. He did not follow the beaten track of other speakers and [illegible] ers, but appeared to comprehend the whole situation of the subject, and take hold of its principles. He had a remarkable faculty for concentration, enabling him to present his subject in such a manner, as nothing but conclusions were presented."

It was at this session of the Legislature, March 3, 1837, that Mr. Lincoln began that antislavery record upon which his fame through all time must chiefly rest. It was a very mild beginning; but even that required uncommon courage and candor in the day and generation in which it was done.

The whole country was excited concerning the doctrines and the practices of the Abolitionists. These agitators were as yet but few in numbers; but in New England they comprised some of the best citizens, and the leaders were [illegible]

paper and its editor, whose office was [illegible] only visible auxiliary a negro boy; his se[illegible] nificant persons of all colors."

At the close of the year 1835, President Ja[illegible] the attention of Congress to the doings o[illegible] language corresponding to the natural wrath w[illegible] viewed the character of their proceedings [illegible] said he "invite your attention to the painful excitement [illegible] South by attempts to circulate through the mails [illegible] appeals addressed to the passions of slaves, in prints [illegible] ous sorts of publications calculated to stimulate them to [illegible] rection, and to produce all the horrors of civil war. [illegible] fortunate for the country that the good sense, the gen[illegible] feeling, and deep-rooted attachment of the people of the [illegible] slaveholding States to the Union and their fellow-citizen[illegible] the same blood in the South have given so strong and [illegible] pressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the p[illegible] ceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in this unconstitutional and wicked attempts, and especially against the emissaries from foreign parts, who have dared to interfe[illegible] in this matter, as to authorize the hope that these attempts will no longer be persisted in. . . . I would therefore call the special attention of Congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States through the mail, of incendiary publications, intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection."

Mr. Clay said the sole purpose of the Abolitionists was [illegible] array one portion of the Union against the other. "And [illegible] that in view, in all their leading prints and publications, the alleged horrors of slavery are depicted in the most glowing and exaggerated colors, to excite the imaginations and stimulate the rage of the people of the Free States against the people of the slaveholding States. . . . Why are the Slave States wantonly and cruelly assailed? Why does the abolition press teem with publications tending to excite hatred and animosity on the part of the Free States against the Slave

to interfere with slavery in the States, or in the District of Columbia, and that henceforth all abolition petitions should be laid on the table without being printed or referred. Two one day later than the date of Mr. Lincoln's protest, Mr. Van Buren declared in his inaugural, that no bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or meddling with it in the States where it existed, should ever receive his signature. "There was no other form," says Benton, "at that time, in which slavery agitation could manifest itself, or place it could find a point to operate; the ordinance of 1787 and the compromise of 1820 having closed up the Territories against it. Danger to slave property in the States, either by direct attack or indirectly through the District of Columbia, were the only points of expressed apprehension."

Abolition agitations fared little better in the twenty-third Congress than in the twenty-fourth. At the extra session in September of 1837, Mr. Slade of Vermont introduced petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; but, after a furious debate and a stormy scene, they were disposed of by the adoption of the following: —

"*Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, and papers touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves, in any State, District, or Territory of the United States, be laid on the table, without being printed, read, or referred; and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."

In Illinois, at the time we speak of (March, 1837), an abolitionist was rarely seen, and scarcely ever heard of. In many parts of the State such a person would have been deemed a criminal. It is true, there were a few Quakers who abhorred of slavery in any form and who [illegible] as a part of their religion. Up to 1824 the [illegible] refused to vote, or in any other [illegible] State government regarding it as [illegible] religious institution, because the Constitution [illegible] Jesus Christ as the head of the government [illegible] Scriptures as the only rule of faith [illegible]

this [illegible] Gov. Coles, the leader of the [illegible] had emancipated his slaves, and settl[illegible] his new home, but had neglected to [illegible] tion that his freedmen should behav[illegible] come a charge upon the public, was tried [illegible] in each case; and, so late as 1852, the w[illegible] very narrowly escaped the same penalty fo[illegible]

In 1835–36 Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy had [illegible] moderately antislavery paper at St. Louis. But [illegible] of that city did not look with favor upon [illegible] after meeting with considerable opposition, [illegible] 1836 he moved his types and press across the [illegible] Ill. Here he found an opposition more violent [illegible] which he had fled. His press was thrown [illegible] night after its arrival; and he was informed that [illegible] paper would be allowed to the town. The [illegible] zens, however, deprecated the outrage, and [illegible] raised to reimburse Mr. Lovejoy in case [illegible] to make his paper an abolition journal. For [illegible] that it was not his purpose to establish [illegible] not one of a religious character, at the [illegible] surrender up his right as an American [illegible] ever he pleased on any subject, in [illegible] the laws of the country in so doing. With [illegible] standing, he was permitted to go [illegible] for a year, discussing in his paper the [illegible] however, in violent manner [illegible] This [illegible] of his pledge [illegible] office were again destroyed [illegible] to resist this [illegible] paper [illegible]

(Signed)

[illegible]

[illegible] Counsel. We [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The banks [illegible] from the Legislature [illegible] system were [illegible] enterprises [illegible] want of [illegible] took at par and [illegible] while the other took [illegible] thousand dollars, which [illegible] used as capital [illegible] business accordingly. But the banks [illegible] greater danger than [illegible] internal-improvement [illegible] State Bank refused specie payments for [illegible] was forfeited under the Act of Assembly [illegible] main-stay of all the current speculations [illegible] and having besides large sums of public [illegible] the governor was induced to call a special [illegible] lature in July, 1837, to save them from [illegible] This was done by an act authorizing [illegible] pension of specie payments. The gover[illegible] recommended this, but he had most earnest[illegible] the repeal or modification of the internal-imp[illegible] and *that* the Legislature positively refused [illegible] might be eaten by its own dogs, but it [illegible] eat *them*; and in this direction there was no [illegible] for two years more. According to Gov[illegible] reflecting men of the State anxiously [illegible] might be able to borrow [illegible] were immediately and bitterly disa[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]
Legislature [illegible]
didate of his party [illegible]
that [illegible]
dent; but it was [illegible]
[illegible]

Mr. [illegible]
[illegible]

[An Act [illegible]
[illegible]]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

by a direct tax now, money enough could not [illegible] pay the accruing interest. The bill proposed [illegible] this way for interest not otherwise provided for [illegible] intended to apply to those bonds for the interest [illegible] security had already been provided.

"He hoped the House would seriously consider the [illegible] sition. He had no pride in its success as a m[illegible] own, but submitted it to the wisdom of the Ho[illegible] hope, that, if there was any thing objectionable in [illegible] be pointed out and amended."

Mr. Lincoln's measure did not pass. There [illegible] party in favor, not only of passing the interest [illegible] debt, which fell due in the coming January and [illegible] of repudiating the whole debt outright. Others th[illegible] State ought to pay, not the full face of its bonds, but [illegible] the amount received for them; while others still [illegible] that, whereas, many of the bonds had been irregular[illegible] gally, and even fraudulently disposed of there [illegible] a particular discrimination made against *those*, and [illegible] only. At last Mr. Cavarly, a member from G[illegible] duced a bill of two sections, authorizing the [illegible] sioners to hypothecate internal-improvement [illegible] amount of three hundred thousand dollars, and [illegible] tained the remarkable provision, that the proceeds [illegible] applied by that officer to the payment of [illegible] due on the public debt; thus shifting from the G[illegible] semblyman devolving on the Fund Commissioner, [illegible] of deciding on the legality of the debt. Thus by [illegible] expedient, conflicting opinions were reconciled without [illegible] action on the matter in controversy, and that the [illegible] were enabled to agree upon a measure to provide [illegible] rally for the interest on the public debt. The [illegible] further provided, at [illegible] sion, for [illegible] bonds, to be sold in the market at [illegible] and an additional tax of ten cents [illegible] worth of property was imposed and [illegible] rest on these bonds. By these [illegible]

[illegible] Democrats [illegible] Whigs [illegible] Philadelphia [illegible] Washington [illegible] Whigs [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Whigs [illegible] Lincoln [illegible] ayes and noes. We appeared at [illegible] adjourn *sine die* was made, and we [illegible] noes. The [illegible] discovered [illegible] sergeant-at-arms was sent out to gather up [illegible] There was great excitement in the House, [illegible] held in a church at Springfield. We [illegible] several Whigs had been caught and brought [illegible] plan had been spoiled; and we — Lincoln [illegible] mined to leave the hall, and, going to the [illegible] locked, and then raised a window and [illegible] until the Democrats had succeeded in adjourning. We [illegible] lev of McLean accompanied us in our [illegible] Lincoln always regretted that he entered [illegible] ment, as he deprecated every thing that [illegible] tionary.

[illegible] neighborhood. The [illegible] Dem[illegible] [illegible] turned [illegible] it that single [illegible] south to shame. They carried [illegible] where it was argued before the Whig majority [illegible] 1839, by able and distinguished [illegible] being one of them; but [illegible] only [illegible] to the next June. In the mean time [illegible] Democrat on the bench, was seeking [illegible] friends by betraying to Douglas the [illegible] jury-room. With his aid, the Democrats found [illegible] the record, which sent the case over to December [illegible] adroitly secured the alien vote for the great [illegible] memorable year. The legislature elected [illegible] whelmingly Democratic; and, having good [illegible] that the aliens had small favor to expect from [illegible] determined forthwith to make a new one that [illegible] reasonable. There were now nine Circuit [illegible] State, and four Supreme judges, under [illegible] The offices of the Circuit judges the Democrats [illegible] to abolish, and to create instead nine Supreme [illegible] should perform circuit duties. This they called [illegible] the judiciary;" and "thirsting for vengeance," [illegible] says, they went about the work with all the zeal, but [illegible] very little of the disinterested devotion, which [illegible] generally supposed to have. Douglas, counsel for [illegible] litigants, made a furious speech "in the lobby," demanding the destruction of the court that was to try his cause, and [illegible] sundry grave sins which he imputed to the judges. He gave Smith — his friend Smith — as authority. It was useless to oppose it: this "reform" was a foregone conclusion. It was called the "Douglas Bill;" and Mr. Douglas was appointed to one of the new offices created by it. But Mr. Lincoln, E. D. Baker, and other Whig members, entered upon the journal the following protest: —

"For the reasons thus presented, and for others no less apparent, the undersigned cannot assent to the passage of the

Sand Ridge. I made the canvass, Mr. [illegible] a[illegible] me; and, being personally well acquain[illegible] called at nearly every house. At that [illegible] sal custom to keep some whiskey in [illegible] use and to treat friends. The subject was [illegible] as a matter of etiquette, but with the remark [illegible] 'You never drink, but maybe your frie[illegible] little.' I never saw Mr. Lincoln drink. [illegible] never drank; had no desire for drink [illegible] of drinking men. Candidates never treated [illegible] times unless they wanted to do so.

"Mr. Lincoln remained in New Salem until [illegible] 1837, when he went to Springfield, and [illegible] office of John T. Stuart as a partner in the practice [illegible] and boarded with William Butler.

"During his stay in New Salem he had no [illegible] than what was necessary to do his business and [illegible] stopped in Springfield. He was not avaricious [illegible] property, neither was he a spendthrift. He [illegible] always during those times hard up. [illegible]

"The first trip he made around the circuit [illegible] menced the practice of law, I had a horse, saddle [illegible] and he had none. I let him have mine. I [illegible] have been careless, as the saddle skirts [illegible]

"While he lived in New Salem he [illegible] would stay a day or two at a time; we generally [illegible] time at the stores in Athens. He was very [illegible] telling or hearing stories told was a source [illegible] great to him. He was not in the habit of [illegible] never read novels. Whittling pine boards [illegible] ing and laughing, constituted the entertainment [illegible] and evenings.

"In a conversation with a friend about [illegible] that, although he appeared to enjoy life [illegible] was the victim of terrible melancholy [illegible] and indulged in fun and hilarity [illegible] as to time; but when by himself [illegible]

CHAPTER XI.

UNDER the Act of Assembly, due in great part to Mr. Lincoln's exertions, the removal of the archives and other public property of the State from Vandalia to Springfield began on the fourth day of July, 1839, and was speedily completed. At the time of the passage of the Act, in the winter of 1836–7, Mr. Lincoln determined to follow the capital, and establish his own residence at Springfield. The resolution was natural and necessary; for he had been studying law in all his intervals of leisure, and wanted a wider field than the justice's court at New Salem to begin the practice. Henceforth Mr. Lincoln might serve in the Legislature, attend to his private business, and live snugly at home. In addition to the State courts, the Circuit and District Courts of the United States sat here. The eminent John McLean of Ohio was the justice of the Supreme Court who sat in this circuit, with Judge Pope of the District Court, from 1839 to 1849, and after that with Judge Drummond. The first terms of these courts, and the first session of the Legislature at Springfield, were held in December, 1839. The Senate sat in one church, and the House in another.

Mr. Lincoln got his license as an attorney early in 1837, and commenced practice regularly as a lawyer in the town of Springfield in March of that year. His first case was that of Hawthorne *vs.* Wooldridge, dismissed at the cost of the plaintiff, for whom Mr. Lincoln's name was entered. There were then on the list of attorneys at the Springfield bar many names of subsequent renown. Judge Stephen T.

at a very critical time. Mr. Lincoln forgot which, while he was in Congress, and Butler wanted to be Register of the Land Office, as well as when he was President of the United States, and opportunities of repayment were multitudinous. It is doubtless all true; but the inference of personal neglect thus on the part of Mr. Lincoln will not bear examination. It will be shown at another place that Mr. Lincoln regarded the patronage offices within his gift as a sacred trust, to be administered solely for the people, and as in no sense a fund upon which he could draw for the payment of private accounts. He *never* preferred his friends to his enemies, but taken the reverse, as if fearful that he might by bare possibility be influenced by some unworthy motive. He was singularly cautious to avoid the imputation of fidelity to his friends at the expense of his opponents.

In Coke's and Blackstone's time the law was supposed to be "a jealous mistress;" but in Lincoln's time, and at Springfield, she was anything but exacting. Politicians courted her only to make her favor the stepping-stone to success in other employments. Various members of that bar have left great reputations to posterity, but none of them were carried solely by the legitimate practice of the law. Douglas is remembered as a statesman, Baker as a political orator, Hardin as a soldier, and some now living, like Logan and Stuart, although eminent in the law, will be no less known to the history of the times as politicians than as lawyers. Among those who went to the law for a living, and to the people for fame and power, was Mr. Lincoln. He was still a member of the Legislature when he settled at Springfield, and would probably have continued to run for a seat in that body as often as his time expired, but for the unfortunate results of the "internal-improvement system," the hopeless condition of the State finances, and a certain gloominess of mind, which arose from private misfortunes that befell him about the time of his retirement. We do not say positively that these were the reasons why Mr. Lincoln made no effort to be re-elected to the Legislature of 1840; but a careful study of all the circum-

upon its hills and valleys a political edifice [illegible] and equal rights. [illegible] ours only to transmit these [illegible] unprofaned by the foot of an invader, the [illegible] by the lapse of time and reform by usurpation, — [illegible] generation that fate shall permit the world [illegible] This task, gratitude to our fathers, justice to ourselves, duty to posterity, — all imperatively require us faithfully to perform.

"How, then, shall we perform it? At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for commander, could not, by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years.

"At what point, then, is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

"I hope I am not over-wary; but, if I am not, there is even now something of it in the air amongst us. I mean the growing disregard for law which pervades the country, the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of courts, and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community, and that it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit it, it exists, is a violation of truth and an insult to our intelligence to deny. Accounts of outrages committed by mobs form the every-day news of the times. They have pervaded the country from New England to Louisiana; they are neither peculiar to the eternal snows of the former, nor the burning sun of the latter. They are not the creature of climate; neither are they confined to the slaveholding or non-slaveholding States. Alike they spring up among the pleasure-hunting northern of Southern slaves and the order-loving citizens of the land of

[illegible] man could never do, the silent activities of time *have done* — the [illegible] of its walls. They are [illegible] a forest of giant oaks; but the all-resistless hurricane has swept over them, [illegible] and they [illegible] spoiled [illegible] shorn of [illegible] and unshaded. [illegible] a few [illegible] could [illegible] to [illegible] They are [illegible] of life [illegible] that they have crumbled [illegible] with [illegible] reason. Pass [illegible] of us, but [illegible] It will in future [illegible] unimpassioned [illegible] must furnish [illegible] for our future [illegible] moulded into [illegible] particular, [illegible] that we improved to the last, that we [illegible] last, that during his long [illegible] we permitted [illegible] to pass or destroy [illegible] learn the last trump shall awaken on Washington [illegible] these let the ground-work of freedom rest as [illegible] basis, and as truly as has been said of the [illegible] tution, "The gates of hell shall not prevail [illegible]

These extracts from a [illegible] Mr. [illegible] crude experience in [illegible] native perused. To those familiar with his [illegible] at a later age, these some [illegible] ble. But they were [illegible] "Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield" [illegible] to furnish a copy for publication [illegible] in "The Sangamon Journal." In the [illegible] they compare favorably [illegible] of nearly the same date. [illegible] called his "growing time," [illegible] witness the processes of such mental growth [illegible]

fusion ensued, threatening to end in a general [illegible] Baker was likely to suffer. But just at the critical moment Lincoln's legs were seen coming through the [illegible] directly his tall figure was standing between Baker [illegible] audience, gesticulating for silence. "Gentlemen," [illegible] "let us not disgrace the age and country in which [illegible] This is a land where freedom of speech is guaranteed. Mr. Baker has a right to speak, and ought to be permitted [illegible] so. I am here to protect him, and no man shall [illegible] from this stand if I can prevent it." Webber only [illegible] that "some one made some soothing, kind remarks," [illegible] he was properly "held until the excitement ceased," [illegible] affair "soon ended in quiet and peace."

In 1838, or 1840, Jesse B. Thomas made an intemperate attack upon the "Long Nine," and especially upon Mr. Lincoln, as the longest and worst of them. Lincoln was [illegible] present at the meeting; but being sent for, and [illegible] of what had passed, he ascended the platform, and [illegible] reply which nobody seems to remember, but which [illegible] body describes as a "terrible skinning" of his victim [illegible] says, that, at the close of a furious personal denunciation [illegible] wound up by "minucking" Thomas, until Thomas [illegible] cried with vexation and anger. Edwards, Speed, Ellis [illegible] and many others, refer to this scene, and, being asked [illegible] Mr. Lincoln could not be vindictive upon occasion, [illegible] respond, "Remember the Thomas skinning."

The most intimate friend Mr. Lincoln ever had, [illegible] any other time, was probably Joshua F. Speed. [illegible] settled himself in Springfield, and did a thriving business [illegible] a merchant. His was one of his clients, and [illegible] William H. Herndon, Mr. Lincoln's law partner. [illegible] store was for years Lincoln's familiar haunt. [illegible] to while away the tedious evenings with [illegible] genial company that naturally assembled [illegible] spirits. He even slept in the store [illegible] at home, and here made the speech [illegible] memorable one he ever made to [illegible]

[illegible] secretary [illegible] was Speed, and [illegible] deep and [illegible] expression impaired [illegible] the day of M[illegible] [illegible] there were good reasons why he should [illegible] Speed with affection and gratitude, for [illegible] rendered him more important ser-[illegible]

[illegible] 1839 Lincoln, Douglas, Baker and [illegible] were seated at Speed's hospitable [illegible] talking politics, got warm, [illegible] and said, "Gentlemen, this is [illegible] discuss the questions publicly [illegible] tone of banter and defi-[illegible] Whigs had a meeting, at [illegible] resolutions calling the Dem-[illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] and [illegible] Jesse B. Thomas were ch[illegible] [illegible] Logan, Baker, Browning, [illegible] Whigs. The intellectual [illegible] contests is still described as [illegible] debate." It took place [illegible] and was opened from [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] have attended [illegible] than in the hope of being [illegible] able to say [illegible] arguments which I am sure I shall [illegible] during the evening.

"The subject heretofore and now [illegible] Sub-Treasury scheme of the present [illegible] of collecting, safe-keeping, transferring [illegible] revenues of the nation, as contrasted [illegible] for the same purposes. Mr. Douglas has [illegible] Whigs) have not dared to meet them [illegible] ment on this question. I protest against [illegible] say we have again and again, during this discussion, [illegible] facts and arguments against the Sub-Treasury which [illegible] have neither dared to deny nor attempt to [illegible] lest some may be led to believe that we really [illegible] the question, I now propose, in my humble way, [illegible] arguments again; at the same time begging the [illegible] mark well the positions I shall take, and the proofs I shall [illegible] to sustain them, and that they will not again allow Mr. Douglas or his friends to escape the force of them by a [illegible] groundless assertion that we dare not meet them in [illegible]

"Of the Sub-Treasury, then, as contrasted with [illegible] Bank, for the before-enumerated purposes, I lay down the following propositions, to wit: —

"1st. It will injuriously affect the community by its [illegible] tion on the circulating medium.

"2d. It will be a more expensive fiscal agent.

"3d. It will be a less secure depository for the public money."

Mr. Lincoln's objections to the Sub-Treasury were those commonly urged by its enemies, and have been somewhat conclusively refuted by the operation of that admirable institution from the hour of its adoption to the present. "The

before they can possibly get out a[illegible] able heels will run away with them."

But, as in the lecture before the [illegible] served his most impressive passage, his bold [illegible] most striking metaphor, for a grand and [illegible]

"Mr. Lamborn refers to the late elections in [illegible] from their results, confidently predicts every [illegible] will vote for Mr. Van Buren at the next presidential [illegible] Address that argument to cowards and knaves [illegible] and the brave it will affect nothing. It may be [illegible] must, let it. Many free countries have lost their [illegible] ours may lose hers; but, if she shall, be it my [illegible] not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted [illegible] I know that the great volcano at Washington, aroused [illegible] directed by the evil spirit that reigns there, is belching [illegible] the lava of political corruption in a current broad and [illegible] which is sweeping with frightful velocity over the whole length and breadth of the land, bidding fair to leave [illegible] scathed no green spot or living thing; while on its bosom, are riding, like demons on the wave of [illegible], the imps of that evil spirit, and fiendishly taunting all those who dare to resist its destroying course with the hopelessness of their efforts; and, knowing this, I cannot deny that all may be swept away. Broken by it, I, too, may be; bow to it, I never will. The probability that we may fail in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause we believe to be just. It shall not deter me. If ever I feel the soul within me elevate and expand to those dimensions, not wholly unworthy of its almighty Architect, it is when I contemplate the cause of my country, deserted by all the world beside, and I standing up boldly, alone, hurling defiance at her victorious oppressors. Here, without contemplating consequences, before Heaven and in face of the world, I swear eternal fealty to the just cause, as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty, and my love. And who that thinks with me will not fearlessly adopt that oath that I take? Let none falter who thinks he is right, and we may succeed. But if, after all, we shall fail,

"He was very sensitive," says Mr. Gillespie, [illegible] thought he had failed to come up to the expectat[illegible] friends. I remember a case. He was pitted by the Whigs in 1840, to debate with Mr. Douglas, the Dem[illegible] champion. Lincoln did not come up to the requirements of the occasion. He was conscious of his failure; and I never saw any man so much distressed. He begged to be permitted to try it again, and was reluctantly indulged; and in the second effort he transcended our highest expectations. I never heard, and never expect to hear, such a triumphant [illegible] tion as he then gave of Whig measures or p[illegible]. He [illegible] after, to my knowledge, fell below himself."

It must by this time be clear to the reader that Mr. Lincoln was never agitated by any passion more intense than his wonderful thirst for distinction. There is good evidence that [illegible] furnished the feverish dreams of his boyhood, and [illegible] that knew him well can doubt that it governed his [illegible] duct, from the hour when he astonished himself by his [illegible] cal success against Posey and Ewing, in the back settlements of Macon County, to the day when the assassin marked [illegible] as the first hero of the restored Union, re-elected to his [illegible] office, surrounded by every circumstance that could minister to his pride, or exalt his sensibilities, — a man whose [illegible] was only less wide than his renown. He never [illegible] race he had determined to run; he was [illegible] honorably; he struggled necessarily for power [illegible] instance where an important office seemed [illegible] reach, and he did not try to get it. [illegible] politics, in the heat of private life, [illegible] great [illegible] he was capable of [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

MRS. MARY LINCOLN, WIFE OF THE PRESIDENT.

swered, "The one that has the best chance of being President." She decided in favor of Lincoln. [illegible] of some of her husband's friends, aided to [illegible] the fulfilment of the prophecy which the [illegible] band implied. A friend of Miss Todd was [illegible] elderly but wealthy gentleman, and being [illegible] the Edwards coterie why she had married [illegible] dried-up husband, such a withered-up old [illegible] swered that "He had lots of horses and gold." [illegible] Todd spoke up in great surprise, and said: "I [illegible] would rather marry a good man, a man of [illegible] and bright prospects ahead for position, fame, [illegible] to marry all the horses, gold, and bones in the [illegible]

Mrs. Edwards, Miss Todd's sister, [illegible] coln "was charmed with Mary's wit and fascinating [illegible] quick sagacity, her will, her nature and [illegible] happened in the room," she says. "[illegible] often and often, and Mr. Lincoln [illegible] would listen, and gaze on her as [illegible] power, — literally so; he listened [illegible] scorn! [illegible] Lincoln could not [illegible] with a lady — was not [illegible] the female [illegible]

Mr. Lincoln [illegible] forwards [illegible] [illegible] felt [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] herself [illegible]
[illegible] Mr. [illegible]
[illegible] Miss [illegible]
[illegible] Miss Edwards [illegible] Mr. [illegible]
[illegible] love to [illegible] Miss [illegible]
[illegible] of such a subject [illegible]
[illegible] compliment.

In the language of [illegible]
a [illegible]
[illegible] 1841—2 [illegible]

Mr. Herndon [illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible]
aversion [illegible]
Miss Edwards [illegible]
the memory of Ann Rutledge [illegible]
[illegible] and each [illegible]
[illegible] thought of his [illegible]
[illegible] his opinion. Mr. [illegible]
later below. At [illegible]
nearly [illegible]
from his room [illegible]
dangerous things. [illegible]
[illegible] to do for him who [illegible]
occasion at New [illegible]
of January, 1841, [illegible]
in Kentucky and [illegible]
and fall [illegible]
his liberty again [illegible]
to his old quarters [illegible]
melancholy," and [illegible]
self-destruction." It was about this time that [illegible]
gloomy lines under the [illegible]
[illegible]shed in "The Sangamon [illegible]
something about them [illegible]

[illegible] Mathew [illegible] Edwards [illegible] Mrs [illegible] Mrs [illegible]

The [illegible] 1842, and [illegible] Charles Dickens [illegible] mind, [illegible]

The first [illegible] Spe[illegible] [illegible] Although [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr [illegible]

[illegible]

In the winter [illegible] hand. [illegible] herself [illegible]

In the [illegible] 1884 [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] accident

told me concerning your mother at various times, and [illegible] brother William at the time his wife died. The first [illegible] *exposure to bad weather* on your journey, which my experi[illegible] to be very severe on defective nerves. The second is the [illegible] *ness and conversation* of friends, which might divert your [illegible] sional rest from the intensity of thought which will [illegible] sweetest idea threadbare, and turn it to the bitterness of death.

The third is *the rapid and near approach of that crisis* [illegible] *thoughts and feelings concentrate.*

If from all these causes you shall escape, and go through [illegible] without another "twinge of the soul," I shall be most happy [illegible] egregiously deceived. If, on the contrary, you shall, as I expect [illegible] some time, be agonized and distressed, let me, who love [illegible] speak with judgment on such a subject, beseech you to [illegible] causes I have mentioned, and not to some false and rumour [illegible] Devil.

"But," you will say, "do not your causes apply to every [illegible] a like undertaking?" By no means. *The particular causes*, to a [illegible] less extent, perhaps, do apply in all cases; but the *general* [illegible] debility, which is the key and conductor of all the particular [illegible] without which they would be utterly harmless though [illegible] you, — *does not* pertain to one in a thousand. It is out of this [illegible] ful difference between you and the mass of the world springs [illegible]

I know what the painful point with you is at all times when [illegible] unhappy: it is an apprehension that you do not love your [illegible] What nonsense! How came you to cure her? Was it because [illegible] she deserved it, and that you had given her reason to expect [illegible] for that, why did not the same reason make you court [illegible] least twenty others of whom you think, and to whom [illegible] greater force than to *her*? Did you cure her for her [illegible] know she had none. But you say you've proved yourself [illegible] you mean by that? Was it not that you found [illegible] [illegible] of it? Did you not think, and really feel, [illegible] the first time you ever saw her or heard of her [illegible] with it at its early stage? There [illegible] reason to work upon. Whatever was [illegible] good character, you did not, nor could [illegible] [illegible] from the company [illegible]

And now then, there is one, I know of, [illegible] *powerful*; and these [illegible] heal!

Seriously, you've not lost [illegible] your early *reasoning* on the subject [illegible] residence, did you [illegible] take [illegible]

Old Uncle Billy Herndon is dead, and it is said this evening that Uncle Ben Ferguson will not live. This, I believe, is all the news, and enough at that, unless it were better.

Write me immediately on the receipt of this.

Your friend as ever,

LINCOLN

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Feb. 13, 1842

DEAR SPEED, — Yours of the 1st inst. came to hand three or four days ago. When this shall reach you, you will have been Fanny's husband several days. You know my desire to befriend you is everlasting; that I will never cease while I know how to do any thing.

But you will always hereafter be on ground that I have never occupied, and consequently, if advice were needed, I might advise wrong. I do fondly hope, however, that you will never again need any comfort from abroad. But, should I be mistaken in this, should excessive pleasure still be accompanied with a painful counterpart at times, still let me urge you, as I have ever done, to remember, in the depth and even agony of despondency, that very shortly you are to feel well again. I am now fully convinced that you love her as ardently as you are capable of loving. Your ever being happy in her presence, and your intense anxiety about her health, if there were nothing else, would place this beyond all dispute in my mind. I incline to think it probable that your nerves will fail you occasionally for a while; but once you get them firmly graded now, that trouble is over forever.

I think if I were you, in case my mind were not exactly right, I would avoid being *idle*. I would immediately engage in some business, or go to making preparations for it, which would be the same thing.

If you went through the ceremony calmly, or even with sufficient composure not to excite alarm in any present, you are safe beyond question, and in two or three months, to say the most, will be the happiest of men.

I would desire you to give my particular respects to Fanny; but perhaps you will not wish her to know you have received this, lest she should desire to see it. Make her write me an answer to my last letter to her; at any rate, I would set great value upon a note or letter from her.

Write me whenever you have leisure.

Yours forever,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. — I have been quite a man since you left.

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 25, 1842

DEAR SPEED, — Yours of the 16th inst., announcing that Miss Fanny and you are "no more twain, but one flesh," reached me this morning. I have no way of telling how much happiness I wish you both, though I believe you both can conceive it. I feel somewhat jealous of both of you

[illegible] exclusively concerned for one answer, that I shall be [illegible] My acquaintance with Miss Fanny (I call her this, lest [illegible] speaking of your mother) was too short for me to rea[illegible] be remembered by her; and still I am sure I shall not [illegible] cannot remind her of that debt she owes [illegible], — and [illegible] therefore to prevent her paying it.

[illegible] have resolved to not return to Illinois. I shall [illegible] How miserable things seem to be arranged in this [illegible] friends, we have no pleasure; and, if we have them, [illegible] doubly pained by the loss. I did [illegible] home here; but I own I have no right to [illegible] Y[illegible] ten thousand times more sacred than you [illegible] let them be respected and observed. It [illegible] remain with her relatives and friends. [illegible] not need them anywhere; she would have [illegible] here.

[illegible] Mr. Williamson and his family, particu[illegible] Miss Elizabeth [illegible] your mother, brother, and sisters. Ask little [illegible] Doves if she will [illegible] with me if I come there again.

And finally, give Fanny [illegible] reciprocation of all the love she sent me [illegible]

Yours forever,

LINCOLN.

P. S. — Poor Lizzie [illegible] at last. He died a while before day this [illegible] to die.

L.

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 25, 1842.

[illegible] of the 12th, written the day you went [illegible] since, but delayed answering it till [illegible] the term, which came last [illegible] so much that [illegible] hardly yet, at the [illegible]

[illegible] received your letter [illegible] boil from its [illegible] think the term [illegible] whole the last [illegible] and [illegible] now. I [illegible]

be over forever. Nor should you become impatient at their being even very slow in becoming steady. Again you say, you much fear that that Elysium of which you have dreamed so much is never to be realized. Well, if it shall not, I dare swear it will not be the fault of her who is now your wife. I now have no doubt, that it is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that any thing earthly can realize. Far short of your dreams as you may be, no woman could do more to realize them than that same black-eyed Fanny. If you could but contemplate her through my imagination it would appear ridiculous to you that any one should for a moment think of being unhappy with her. My old father used to have a saying, that, "If you make a bad bargain, *hug* it all the tighter;" and it occurs to me, that, if the bargain you have just closed can possibly be called a bad one, it is certainly the most pleasant one for applying that maxim to which my fancy can by any effort picture.

I write another letter, enclosing this, which you can show her, if she desires it. I do this because she would think strangely, perhaps, should you tell her that you received no letters from me, or, telling her you do, refuse to let her see them. I close this, entertaining the confident hope that every successive letter I shall have from you (which I here pray may not be few, nor far between) may show you possessing a more steady hand and cheerful heart than the last preceding it.

As ever, your friend,

LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, March 27, 1842.

DEAR SPEED, — Yours of the 10th inst. was received three or four days since. You know I am sincere when I tell you the pleasure its contents gave me was and is inexpressible. As to your farm matter, I have no sympathy with you. *I* have no farm, nor ever expect to have, and consequently have not studied the subject enough to be much interested with it. I can only say that I am glad *you* are satisfied and pleased with it.

But on that other subject, to me of the most intense interest whether in joy or sorrow, I never had the power to withhold my sympathy from you. It cannot be told how it now thrills me with joy to hear you say you are "*far happier than you ever expected to be.*" That much I know is enough. I know you too well to suppose your expectations were not, at least, sometimes extravagant, and, if the reality exceeds them all, I say, Enough, dear Lord. I am not going beyond the truth when I tell you, that the short space it took me to read your last letter gave me more pleasure than the total sum of all I have enjoyed since that fatal 1st of January, 1841. Since then it seems to me I should have been entirely happy, but for the never-absent idea that there is *one* still unhappy whom I have contributed to make so. That still kills my soul. I cannot but reproach myself for even wishing to

SPRINGFIELD [illegible]

DEAR SPEED, — Yours of the 16th June was received only [illegible] since. It was not mailed at Louisville till the 25th. You [illegible] great time that has elapsed since I wrote you. Let me explain. [illegible] letter reached here a day or two after I had started on the circuit. [illegible] gone five or six weeks, so that I got the letters only a few w[illegible] Butler started to your country. I thought it scarcely worth w[illegible] you the news which he could and would tell you more in detail. [illegible] return, he told me you would write me soon, and so I waited for [illegible] As to my having been displeased with your advice, surely you know [illegible] than that. I know you do, and therefore will not labor to co[illegible] True, that subject is painful to me; but it is not your silence, or the [illegible] of all the world, that can make me forget it. I acknowledge [illegible] ness of your advice too; but, before I resolve to do the one [illegible] other, I must gain my confidence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they are made. In that ability you know I once prided myself as the only or chief gem of my character: that gem I lost, how and where you know too well. I have not yet regained it; and, until I do, I cannot trust myself in any matter of much importance. I believe now, that, had you understood my case at the time as well as I understood yours afterwards, by the aid you would have given me I should have sailed through clear; [illegible] that does not now afford me sufficient confidence to begin that or the like of that again.

You make a kind acknowledgment of your obligations to me for your present happiness. I am much pleased with that acknowledgment. But a thousand times more am I pleased, to know that you enjoy a degree of happiness worthy of an acknowledgment. The truth is, I am not sure that there was any went with me in the part I took in your difficulty: I was drawn to it as by fate. If I would, I could not have done less than I did. I always was superstitious: I believe God made me one of the instruments of bringing your Fanny and you together, [illegible] union I have no doubt he had fore-ordained. Whatever he designs, he will do for me yet. "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord" is my text just now. If, as you say, you have told Fanny *all*, I should have no objection to her seeing this letter, but for its reference to our friend here: let her seeing it depend upon whether she has ever known any thing of my affairs; and, if she has not, do not let her.

I do not think I can come to Kentucky this season. I am so poor, and make so little headway in the world, that I drop back in a month of idleness as much as I gain in a year's sowing. I should like to visit you again. I should like to see that "sis" of yours that was absent when I was there, though I suppose she would run away again, if she were to hear I was coming.

. . . . . .

My respects and esteem to all your friends there, and, by your permission, my love to your Fanny. Ever yours, A. LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, [illegible] 1852.

[illegible] Shields, and I have gone [illegible] in this city. My letter [illegible] pried, and [illegible] one hundred years dis[illegible] Whitesides's second [illegible] Yesterday, Whitesides chose to con[illegible] Merryman [illegible] a kind of [illegible] Planter's House in St. Louis on [illegible] Merryman [illegible] his friend, [illegible] his note as a chal[illegible] the law in such case made and [illegible] W. returned for answer, [illegible] the Planter's House as desired, he would [illegible] they he denied W.'s right to dictate [illegible] Merryman [illegible] the question of time, and [illegible] Merryman [illegible] presenting this note to W., and [illegible] saying he had busi[illegible] Louisiana. Merryman then [illegible] W. [illegible] publish the correspondence [illegible] I did. Thus [illegible] this morning Whitesides, by his friend [illegible] and that he was mistaken [illegible] Louisiana Mo., thinking it [illegible] This Merryman hounds at, and is preparing [illegible] the power in a bayonet, and a street fight somewhat [illegible]

[illegible] for what I have been writing, but to say [illegible] you know [illegible] infinite solicitude [illegible] you [illegible] from [illegible] days of September [illegible] and I well [illegible] nearly [illegible] her. I [illegible] But I have your word [illegible] Fr[illegible] Senate [illegible] Pater[illegible] as I [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] tired [illegible]

Yours forever,

LINCOLN

In the last of these letters, Mr. Lincoln refers to his "duel with Shields." That was another of the disagreeable consequences which flowed from his fatal entanglement with Mary. Not content with managing a timid, although half-frantic and refractory, lover, her restless spirit led her into new fields of adventure. Her pen was too keen to be idle in the political controversies of the time. As a satirical writer, she had no rival of either sex at Springfield, and few we venture to say, anywhere else. But that is a dangerous talent: the temptations to use it unfairly are numerous and strong: it inflicts so much pain, and almost necessarily so much injustice, upon those against whom it is directed, that its possessor rarely, if ever, escapes from a controversy without suffering from the desperation it provokes. Mary Todd was not disposed to let her genius rust for want of use; and, finding no other victim handy, she turned her attention to James Shields, "Auditor." She had a friend, one Miss Jayne, afterwards Mrs. Trumbull, who helped to keep her literary secrets, and assisted as much as she could in worrying the choleric Irishman. Mr. Francis, the editor, knew very well that Shields was "a fighting-man;" but the "pieces" sent him by the wicked ladies were so uncommonly rich in point and humor, that he yielded to a natural inclination, and printed them, one and all. Below we give a few specimens: —

LETTER FROM THE LOST TOWNSHIPS.

Lost Townships, Aug. 27, 1842.

Dear Mr. Printer, — I see you printed that long letter I sent you a spell ago: I'm quite encouraged by it, and can't keep from writing again. I think the printing of my letters will be a good thing all round, — it will give me the benefit of being known by the world, and give the world the advantage of knowing what's going on in the Lost Townships, and give your paper respectability besides. So here comes another. Yesterday afternoon, I hurried through cleaning up the dinner dishes, and stepped over to Neighbor S——, to see if his wife Peggy was as well as I thought be expected, and hear what they called the baby. Well, when I got there, and just turned round the corner of his log-cabin, there he was setting on the doorstep reading a newspaper.

[illegible]

Lost Township, S[illegible] 1842

DEAR MR. PRINTER — I was a-standin' at the spring [illegible] out butter, when I seed Jim Snooks a-ridin' up toward the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

lenge me next and as soon on my throat as not." Not well knowing that [illegible] could suppose my principals less desirous than his own, I proceeded [illegible] tion our pacific intentions to Mr. Lincoln and [illegible] for Springfield forthwith.

We all, except Mr. Shields, arrived in Springfield [illegible] Monday. We discovered that the affair had somehow [illegible] in Springfield, and that an arrest was probable. To prevent this we [illegible] by Mr. Lincoln and myself that he should leave early on Tuesday [illegible] Accordingly, he prepared the following instructions for [illegible] gestion from Mr. Butler that he had reason to believe that [illegible] to made by the opposite party to have the matter accommodated, —

[illegible] Whiteside's [illegible] the affair [illegible] know of [illegible] satisfaction as to what that satisfaction should be, explanation [illegible] shall be given: —

"I did write the [illegible] wish [illegible] the [illegible] thought [illegible] conduct towards me, so far as I knew [illegible]

[illegible]

Bearing this and the [illegible] of the right are [illegible] —

1st. Weapons. — Cavalry [illegible] swords [illegible]

2d. Position. — [illegible] parties with [illegible] the [illegible] parties having the right shall be [illegible] the contest.

3d. Time. — [illegible] to be at a greater [illegible]

4th. Place. — [illegible] the particular spot to be [illegible]

Any preliminary details coming within the above rules you are [illegible] to make at your discretion; but you are not to swerve from those rules [illegible] their limits.

In the course of the forenoon I met Gen. Whiteside and he [illegible] intimated a wish to adjust the matter amicably. I then read to him Mr. Lincoln's instructions to an adjustment, and the terms of the hostile meeting, if there must be one, both at the same time.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Let [illegible] arbitr[illegible] that Mr [illegible] proposals [illegible] answering [illegible]

The [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] wished to [illegible] more particu[illegible] as [illegible]

[illegible] principal, he placed himself in a dilemma [illegible] or ing to shift out of. By his inelegency and [illegible] those laws which govern gentlemen in matters of this [illegible] injustice to his principal, a gentleman who [illegible] to vindicate his honor manfully, but who has [illegible] of his friend; and as his fault he is now trying to [illegible] still greater injustice to Mr. Lincoln.

E. H. [illegible]

And so Mr. Lincoln acknowledged himself to have been the author of one of the "Lost Township Letters." Whether he was or not, was known only perhaps to Miss [illegible] and himself. At the time of their date, he was [illegible] meetings with her at Mr. Francis's house, and [illegible] to devote himself to the duty of marrying her, [illegible] success the letters to Speed are abundant [illegible] It is probable that Mary composed them [illegible] from the [illegible] conferences; that some of Mr. Lincoln's original [illegible] and peculiarities of style unwittingly crept [illegible] that here and there he altered and amended the [illegible] before it went to the printer. Such [illegible] lady's proofs were made at obligatory [illegible] them. But why, [illegible] more than [illegible] responsibility to fight upon, provided Shields [illegible] incorrigible, and not enough to prevent a [illegible] injured gentleman should be inclined to [illegible]

After his marriage, Mr. Lincoln took up [illegible] at the "Globe Tavern," where he [illegible] man and wife for the moderate sum of [illegible] But, notwithstanding these arrangements, was [illegible] and gave "poverty" as [illegible] friendly visit which seemed to be [illegible]

At the bar and in political affairs [illegible] with as much energy as before, although [illegible] seem just now to have suffered an unexpected [illegible] In 1843, Lincoln, Hardin, and Baker were [illegible] the Whig congressional nomination; but [illegible] and

JOSHUA F. SPEED.

[illegible]

reached him, Lincoln shook his hand "cordially," and, after felicitating himself sufficiently upon the happy meeting, he returned to the platform, and finished his speech. When that was over, Lincoln could not make up his mind to part with Nat, but insisted that they must sleep together. Accordingly, they wended their way to Col. Jones's, where that fine old Jackson Democrat received his distinguished "clerk" with all the honors he could show him. Nat says, that in the night a cat "began mewing, scratching, and making a fuss generally." Lincoln got up, took the cat in his hands, and stroking its back "gently and kindly," made it sparkle for Nat's amusement. He then "gently" put it out of the door, and, returning to bed, "commenced telling stories and talking over old times."

It is hardly necessary to say, that the result of the canvass was a severe disappointment to Mr. Lincoln. No defeat but his own could have given him more pain; and thereafter he seems to have attended quietly to his own private business until the Congressional canvass of 1846.

It was thought for many years by some persons well informed, that between Lincoln, Logan, Baker, and Hardin, — four very conspicuous Whig leaders, — there was a secret personal understanding that they four should "rotate" in Congress until each had had a term. Baker succeeded Hardin in 1844; Lincoln was elected in 1846, and Logan was nominated, but defeated, in 1848. Lincoln publicly declined to contest the nomination with Baker in 1844; Hardin did the same for Lincoln in 1846 (although both seem to have acted reluctantly), and Lincoln refused to run against Logan in 1848. Col. Matheny and others insist, with great show of reason, that the agreement actually existed; and, if such was the case, it was practically carried out, although Lincoln was a candidate against Baker, and Hardin against Lincoln, as long as either of them thought there was the smallest prospect of success. They might have done this, however, merely to keep other and less tractable candidates out of the field. That Lincoln would cheerfully have made such a bargain to insure himself a seat

[illegible]

At the meeting of the Thirtieth Congress Mr. Lincoln took his seat, and went about the business of his office with a strong determination to do something memorable. He was the only Whig member from Illinois, and would be carefully watched. His colleagues were several of them old acquaintances of the Vandalia times. They were John McClernand, O. B. Ficklin, William A. Richardson, Thomas J. Turner, Robert Smith, and John Wentworth. Long John. At this session that dear, careless, and erratic little man, Stephen A. Douglas, took his seat in the Senate.

The roll of this House shone with an array of great and brilliant names. Robert C. Winthrop was the Speaker. On the Whig side were John Quincy Adams, Horace Mann, Hunt of New York, Collamer of Vermont, Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, Botts and Goggin of Virginia, Metcalfe of Kentucky, Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, Stephens and Toombs of Georgia, Gentry of Tennessee, and Vinton and Schenck of Ohio. On the Democratic side were Wilmot of Pennsylvania, McLane of Maryland, McDowell of Virginia, Rhett of South Carolina, Cobb of Georgia, Boyd of Kentucky, Brown and Thompson of Mississippi, and Andrew Johnson and George W. Jones of Tennessee. In the Senate were Webster, Calhoun, Benton, Berrien, Clayton, Bell, Hunter, and William R. King.

The House organized late in the fall, and the day previous to that Mr. Lincoln wrote to his friend and partner, William H. Herndon: —

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 5, 1847.

DEAR WILLIAM. You may remember that about a year ago I loaned by the name of Wilson (James Wilson, I think) paid us twenty dollars as an advance fee to attend to a case in the Supreme Court for him, against a Mr. Campbell, the record of which case was in the hands of Mr. Dixon of St. Louis, who never furnished it to us. When I was at Bloomington last fall, I met a friend of Wilson's who intimated to me, and induced me to write to Wilson, telling him that I was leaving the office, folders with you which had been left with me to pay for making abstracts of the case, so that the case may go on this winter. But I came away, and forgot to do it. What I want now is to send you the money to be used according to it any one comes on to start the case, or to be returned by you if no one does.

the floor of the House. I made a little speech [illegible] on a point of no general interest. [illegible] I was [illegible] I am [illegible] I expect to make [illegible] which I think [illegible] enough to wish you to see.

It is [illegible] to learn from [illegible] that I should be [illegible]. I must be [illegible] reality, and I can see as Mr. Clay [illegible] "personal" [illegible] the [illegible] great [illegible] single [illegible] candidate [illegible] wish [illegible] any [illegible] we [illegible] me again. [illegible] any one so [illegible]

I get some [illegible] suggest [illegible] the distinct [illegible] writ- [illegible] is now [illegible]

[illegible]

Most [illegible]

LINCOLN

The [illegible] and [illegible] war, Mr. Lincoln [illegible] in the discussions [illegible] the commencement and conduct of the war. He was politician enough [illegible] with the minority of his party in voting [illegible] and thanks to [illegible] generals, while [illegible] Presidential [illegible] solemnly [illegible] that the war was [illegible] constitutional [illegible] by the President [illegible] States." But his position, and the position of the Whigs, [illegible] made sufficiently [illegible] by the producers of his own [illegible].

On the 22d of December, 1847, Mr. Lincoln [illegible] a preamble and resolutions, which attained great [illegible] in Illinois under the title of "Spot Resolutions." [illegible] in all probability lost the party a great many votes in the Springfield district. They were as follows: —

declared, were or were not at that time armed officers and [illegible] into that settlement by the military order of the President through the Secretary of War.

8th. Whether the military force of the United States was [illegible] sent into that settlement after Gen. Taylor had more [illegible] to the War Department, that, in his opinion, no such [illegible] necessary to the defence or protection of Texas.

Mr. Lincoln improved the first favorable [illegible] 12, 1848), to address the House in the spirit [illegible] Resolutions.

In Committee of the Whole House, Jan. 12, 1848.

Mr. Lincoln addressed the Committee as follows:—

Mr. Chairman,—Some, if not all, of the gentlemen [illegible] side of the House, who have addressed the Committee within [illegible] days, have spoken rather complainingly, if I have not [illegible] of the vote given a week or ten days ago, declaring the [illegible] was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced [illegible] admit that such a vote should not be given in mere party war, [illegible] that the one given is justly censurable, if we have no other [illegible] dation. I am one of those who joined in that vote, and [illegible] best impression of the *truth* of the case. How I got this impression, [illegible] how it may possibly be removed, I will now try to state. When the war began, it was my opinion that all those who, because of knowing too little or because of knowing too *much*, could not conscientiously approve the conduct of the President (in the beginning of it), should, nevertheless, as good citizens and patriots, remain silent on that point, at least [illegible] the war should be ended. Some leading Democrats, including ex President Van Buren, have taken this same view, as I understand them, and I adhered to it, and acted upon it, until, since I took my seat here, and I think I should still adhere to it, were it not that the President and his friends will not allow it to be so. Besides the continual effort of the President to argue every silent vote given for supplies into an indorsement of the justness and wisdom of his conduct; besides that singularly candid paragraph in his late Message, in which he tells us that Congress, with great unanimity (only two in the Senate and fourteen in the House dissenting), had declared that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that government and the United States;" when the same journals that informed him of this also informed him, that, when that declaration, stood disconnected from the question of supplies, sixty-seven in the House, and not fourteen merely, voted against it; besides this open attempt to prove by telling the

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

the two rivers. This actual *exercise* of jurisdiction is the very [illegible] or quality of evidence we want. It is excellent so far as it [illegible]; but does it go far enough? He tells us it went *to about* the Nueces [illegible] tell us it went *to* the Rio Grande. He tells us jurisdiction was exercised *between* the two rivers; but he does not tell us it was exercised over *all* the territory between them. Some simple-minded people think it possible to cross one river and go beyond it without going all the way to the other, so that jurisdiction may be exercised *between* two rivers without covering *all* the country between them. I know a man, not very [illegible], who exercises jurisdiction over a piece of land between the Wabash and the Mississippi; and yet so far is this from being *all* there is between those rivers, that it is just a hundred and fifty-two feet long by fifty wide, and to part of it much within a hundred miles of either. He lives at a place between the Wabash and the Mississippi, — that is, just across the street which divides his house — whom, I am sure, he could neither *persuade* nor *cajole* into giving up his jurisdiction; but which, nevertheless, he could certainly arrest if it were to be done by merely standing on his own side of the street and claiming it, or even sitting down and writing a deed for it.

But next, the President tells us, the Congress of the United States *admitted* the State of Texas they gave her to the Union to extend to the Nueces. Well, I suppose they did. — I certainly so understand it. — But how *far* beyond? That Congress did *not* understand it to extend clear to the Rio Grande, is quite certain by the fact of their joint resolution for admission, expressly leaving all questions of boundary to future adjustment. And it may be added, that Texas herself is proved to have had the same understanding of it that our Congress had, by the fact of the exact conformity of her new Constitution to those resolutions.

I am now through the whole of the President's evidence; and it is a singular fact, that, if any one should declare the President sent an army into the midst of a settlement of Mexican people, who had never submitted, by consent or by force, to the authority of Texas or of the United States, and that *there*, and *then* of, the first blood of the war was shed, there is not one word in all the President has said which would either affirm or deny the declaration. In this strange omission chiefly consists the deception of the President's evidence, — an omission which it does seem to me, could scarcely have occurred but by design. My way of living leads me to be about the courts of justice; and there I have sometimes seen a good lawyer, struggling for his client's neck in a desperate case, employing every artifice to work round, befog, and cover up with many words, some point pressed upon him by the prosecution, which he *dared* not admit, and yet *could* not deny. Party bias may help to make it appear so; but, with all the allowance I can make for such bias, it still does appear to me that just such, and from just such necessity, are the President's struggles in this case.

Some time after my colleague (Mr. Richardson) introduced the resolutions

[illegible]

The [illegible] twenty [illegible] which, together with an [illegible] about one-half of the Mexican territory, and that by far [illegible] far as

[illegible] Message [illegible] conception. As [illegible] is a [illegible] [illegible] show the [illegible]

This speech he hastened to send [illegible] printed [illegible] Whig [illegible] had excellent [illegible] The [illegible] letter to Mr. H[illegible] delivery of the speech, and notifying him of [illegible]

Washin[illegible]

Dear William, — [illegible] Whi[illegible] Mr. [illegible] Wh[illegible] [illegible] which I will [illegible]

Y[illegible]

[illegible]

About the last [illegible] the first [illegible] began to hear the [illegible] from his district. He was now on the defensive [illegible] pelled to write long and tedious letters [illegible] Whigs. Of this character are two [illegible] epistles to Mr. Herndon: —

Washington, [illegible]

Dear William, — Your letter [illegible] for which I am [illegible] [illegible] you and I disagree about the war [illegible] misunderstand. I fear other good friends [illegible] that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally [illegible] by the President; and I will stake my life that if you had been in my place you would have voted just as I did. Would you have voted wh[illegible]

[illegible]

But the Whig Nominating Convention [illegible] for the Presidency [illegible] Justice, and Mr. Lincoln was [illegible] Clay man: he wanted a candidate [illegible]

been begun unconstitutionally and unnecessarily by President Polk, and now the Whigs could vote supplies to carry on the war without endorsing the war itself. Besides [illegible], he sent news of startling defections; and the weary Representative took up his pen again and again to explain, [illegible], and advise: —

WASHINGTON, [illegible]

DEAR WILLIAM, — Last night I was attending a sort of [illegible] Whig caucus, held in view of the coming Presidential [illegible]. The whole field of the nation was scanned; and all his high hopes [illegible] Illinois was expected to "better be on the ground in this race." In the [illegible] stances I did not hear, during the week, to come to my room and read your encouraging letter of the 7th. We have made no [illegible] lost — H. R. Robinson, Theodore Chapman, and four or five more [illegible] to resume [illegible] would be [illegible]. Baker and [illegible] I think [illegible] much more importance to our absence than is [illegible]. There is another [illegible] in 1846 for instance, we had two Senators and [illegible] Representatives. Since now, we have part of one Senator and two Representatives. With quite one-third more people than we had then, we have only half the number of officers which [illegible] the second sort of talent. This, I think, is the chief cause. Now, as to the young men. You must not wait to be brought forward by the older men. For instance, do you suppose that I should ever have gone into notice if I had waited to be hunted up and pushed forward by older men. You young men get together and form Young and Ready Clubs, and have regular meetings and speeches. Take in everybody that you can get — Harrison, Grimsley, Z. A. Enos, Lee Kimball, and C. W. Matthews will do to begin the thing; but as you go along, gather up all the shrewd, wide-awake men, whether first of age or twenty-first or fifty-first age, — Chris. Logan, Rodney Ridgely, Lewis Zandler, and hundreds such. Let every one play the part he can play best, — some speak, some sing, and all hollow. Your meetings will be of evenings, the older men, and the women, will go to hear you, so that it will not be any interruption to the old [illegible] "Old Zack," but will be an interesting pastime and improving to the intellectual faculties of the young. Don't neglect this.

You ask me to send you all the speeches made about "Old Zack," the war, &c., &c. Now, this makes one a little impatient. I have regularly sent you "The Congressional Globe" and "Appendix," and you can at any time examine them, or you would have discovered that they contain every speech made by every man in both Houses of Congress, on every subject, during the session. Can I send any more? Can I send speeches that nobody has made? Thinking it would be most natural that the newspapers would be interested to give at least some of the speeches to their readers, I, at the beginning of the session, made arrangements to have one copy of "The Globe" and "Appendix"

my veracity, which I think is good with you, that [illegible] me more satisfaction than to learn that you and [illegible] home were doing battle in the contest, and [illegible] the people, and taking a stand far above my [illegible] in their admiration. I cannot conceive that [illegible] Of course, I cannot demonstrate what I say [illegible] I am sure I was never ungenerously [illegible] say. The way for a young man to rise is [illegible] can never suspecting that anybody wishes [illegible] assure you that suspicion and jealousy [illegible] tion. There may sometimes be ungenerous [illegible] down, and they will succeed, too, if he [illegible] is true hearted, to brood over the [illegible] If this feeling has not injured every person [illegible] into it.

Now, in what I have said, I am sure you will [illegible] friendship. I would save you from a bitter [illegible] ous, studious young man. You are far better [illegible] than I have ever been. You cannot fail in any [illegible] allow your mind to be improperly directed. I have [illegible] of you in the world's experience merely by being [illegible] induces me to advise.

You still seem to be a little mistaken about "The [illegible] and "Appendix." They contain [illegible] of the speeches [illegible] way. My speech and Dayton's speech, which you say you [illegible] form, are both, word for word, in the "Appendix." I [illegible] are there.

Your friend as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

The "internal-improvement" speech to which Mr. Lincoln alludes in one of these letters was delivered on the 20th of June, and contained nothing remarkable or especially characteristic. It was in the main merely the usual Whig argument in favor of the constitutionality of Mr. Clay's "American System."

But, after the nominations at Baltimore and Philadelphia, everybody in either House of Congress who could compose any thing at all "on his legs," or in the closet, felt it incumbent upon him to contribute at least one democracy-smashing speech to the political literature of the day. At last, on the 27th of July, Mr. Lincoln found an opportunity to make his. Few

odly, [illegible] constitutionality of that bill [illegible] which I have [illegible] —

"It must be conceded, however, that unless the President [illegible] view of [illegible] which is urged for and against his [illegible] that it is [illegible] by the Constitution; it the [illegible] even as [illegible] argument, a just respect [illegible] lature would [illegible] decide the balance [illegible] chiefly to [illegible] they are clearly [illegible] est, that the Constitution has placed a check in the [illegible] President."

Gen. [illegible] Allison [illegible] Law read: —

"T[illegible] the veto is a high constitutional [illegible] opinion [illegible] be exercised, except in cases of [illegible] the Constitution [illegible] most haste and want of consideration [illegible]

It is here [illegible] in Mr. Jefferson's opinion [illegible] of any given [illegible] the President *doubts* he is not [illegible] them in from [illegible] would have him to do [illegible] approve it. And [illegible] compare the opinions of [illegible] press [illegible] these paragraphs, we shall find little [illegible] we can [illegible] expressions having any [illegible] Nor [illegible] interest [illegible] discover any substantial [illegible]

[illegible] the other side are [illegible] Taylor has [illegible] They are in [illegible] of [illegible] which [illegible] Does [illegible] he will do on the pronunciamento question [illegible] Not the [illegible] possible to know what he will [illegible] every imagine [illegible] many questions have [illegible] away, [illegible] doubtless [illegible] each none of us [illegible] pendent [illegible] money, tariff, internal improvements [illegible] Wright's Proviso [illegible] is at least as [illegible] Wright's [illegible] get at Gen. Taylor's [illegible] whether [illegible] is [illegible] Can they tell us Gen. [illegible] answered. "He is against [illegible] know [illegible] nothing about it in the [illegible] These [illegible] gentleman knows any thing [illegible] it. [illegible] Gen. Taylor in his Allison letter says: —

"[illegible] the subject of the tariff, the [illegible] improvement [illegible] great [illegible] rivers, lakes, and harbors, [illegible] pressed [illegible] the Representatives in Congress [illegible] carried [illegible] the Executive."

Now [illegible] is the whole matter in short [illegible] to Gen. [illegible] If you are elected, shall we have a national bank? H.

[illegible] you say. Ah! [illegible] what? [illegible] We say [illegible] Van Buren [illegible] we can tell you [illegible] Y[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] 1844 [illegible] Mr. Buchanan [illegible] expressly admitted [illegible] Gen. [illegible] Mr. Iverson [illegible] Van Buren [illegible] Mr. Dev[illegible] [illegible] matter [illegible]

While I have Gen. Cass [illegible] principles. As [illegible] I take the [illegible] Proviso. In "The Washington Union" [illegible] of the speech of Gen. Cass [illegible] not Proviso, during the [illegible] Mr. [illegible] repeated to have interrupted him [illegible]

"Mr. Miller expressed [illegible] of the Senator from M[illegible] of freedom in the [illegible] Last year the Senator from Mi[illegible] of the Wilmot Proviso, [illegible] Le (Mr. Miller) [illegible] prise."

Thus Gen. Cass [illegible]

Mr. Cass [illegible] extraordinary. Last year he (Mr. Cass) [illegible] tion in [illegible] Bad circumstances had [illegible] the Senator the read several passages from [illegible] committee [illegible] writing [illegible] the Senator from New Jersey

[illegible] be sure to do whatever the p[illegible] being [illegible] and that is precisely [illegible] Bu[illegible] des[illegible] desert *him*.

[A[illegible] Fre[illegible]]

Bu[illegible]

Congress adjourned on the 14th [illegible] M[illegible] colds went up to New England and [illegible]

HON. DAVID DAVIS, JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U. S.

[illegible] of the United States [illegible]
administered upon his estate [illegible]
[illegible] the fact, that among [illegible]
[illegible], if not peerless, [illegible]
many [illegible] reputation [illegible]
the Books of Reports are [illegible]
[illegible] of the profession [illegible]

At Indianapolis, Judge Davis [illegible]

"I enjoyed for over twenty years the [illegible]
We were admitted to the bar [illegible]
years and is known in Illinois as the [illegible]
when [illegible] was one of the honest [illegible]
Mr. Lincoln went with the court to every [illegible]
in use, and our mode of travel was either [illegible]

"This simple life he lived, preferring [illegible]
city, where, although the remuneration [illegible]
would be less for mixing with the great [illegible]
and which he loved. Mr. Lincoln was transferred [illegible]
to the office of President of the United States [illegible]
position since he left Congress [illegible]
the great lawyer, he had few equals. He [illegible]
before an appellate tribunal. He seized the [illegible]
presented them with clearness and great [illegible]
and direct, and he did not indulge in [illegible]
and platitudes had no charms for him. [illegible]
deserted him; and he was always able to [illegible]
jury, when the cause was the most uninteresting, by [illegible]
his anecdotes.

"His power of comparison was large. [illegible]
[illegible] to use that mode of reasoning. [illegible]
being was honesty, and a wrong cause was [illegible]
ability which some eminent lawyers possess [illegible]
points of a cause by ingenious sophistry [illegible]
into full activity his great powers, it was necessary [illegible]
vinced of the right and justice of the matter [illegible] When
convinced, whether the cause was great or small [illegible]
He read law-books but little, except when [illegible]
sary; yet he was usually self-reliant, [illegible]
rarely consulting his brother lawyers, either [illegible]
or on the legal questions involved.

"Mr. Lincoln was the fairest and most [illegible]

always tried a case [illegible]
tionally misrepresented [illegible]
argument of an opponent [illegible]
could not explain the [illegible]
admitted it. He never missed [illegible]
own intelligent view of it. Such [illegible]
and integrity of his nature, [illegible]
argue a side or a cause that he [illegible]
he felt it his duty to say what [illegible]
decision to others; but there [illegible]
inward struggles of his own [illegible]
might occasionally dwell too long [illegible]
portance to, an inconsiderable point [illegible]
tion, and generally he went straight [illegible]
or question, and struck home there [illegible]
won, the outworks would necessarily [illegible]
be called very learned in his profession, [illegible]
tried a cause without fully understanding [illegible]
to it; and I have no hesitation in saying [illegible]
ablest lawyers I have ever known. If [illegible]
a jury, he was equally so with the court [illegible]
unerring sagacity, the weak points of an opponent [illegible]
and pressed his own views with overwhelming [illegible]
efforts were quite unequal; and it might happen [illegible]
not, on some occasions, strike one as at all [illegible]
let him be thoroughly roused, — let him feel [illegible]
and that some principle was involved in his [illegible]
would come out with an earnestness of [illegible]
of argument, and a wealth of illustration, [illegible]
seen surpassed."

Mr. Lincoln's partnership with John T. [illegible]
the 27th of April, 1837, and continued until the [illegible]
1841, when it was dissolved, in consequence [illegible]
election to Congress. In that same [illegible] 1841 [illegible]
Lincoln united in practice with Stephen T. [illegible]
presiding judge of the district, and [illegible]
until 1845.

points in favor of a client [illegible]
entitled to recover. He [illegible]
on the verge of quarrelling w[illegible]
cause he could not see the justice [illegible]
fore, could not be induced to [illegible]
McHenry, one of his New-Salem [illegible]
case involving the title to a piece of land [illegible]
placed a family in a cabin which [illegible]
situated on the other side of [illegible]
McHenry that he must move the [illegible]
said he should not do it. "We [illegible]
[illegible] I shall not attend to the [illegible] McH[illegible]
[illegible] are a d—n whether he [illegible]
was not all the lawyer there was [illegible]
a while, and asked about the [illegible]
then said: 'McHenry, you are [illegible]
[illegible] attend to it, and gain [illegible]
[illegible] has passed.'

[illegible] citizen of Springfield [illegible] Mr. [illegible]
[illegible] office on business [illegible]
[illegible] relates the following [illegible]

[illegible]

in cutting down Hickox's mill-dam and wanted to hang Hickox for cheating. [illegible] awfully worried [illegible] *affected* [illegible] represented in the [illegible] Mr. Hart, the [illegible] gravamen that had [illegible] bad to have [illegible] much trouble, and no hanging occurred.

I commenced this letter on yesterday, since which time I received yours of the 13th. I [illegible] to my promise to come to [illegible] Springfield [illegible] except what I have written. I [illegible] —— since [illegible] and I am going out to-[illegible] as soon as I mail this letter.

Yours [illegible]

LINCOLN.

On the 21st December, 1839, Mr. Lincoln [illegible] admission to practice in the Circuit Court of the United States, and on the same day the names of Stephen A. Douglas, S. H. Treat, Schuyler Strong, and two other gentlemen were [illegible] on the same roll. The "Little Giant" was [illegible]

The first speech he delivered in the Supreme Court of the State was one the like of which [illegible] and must have led one judge to [illegible] attorney. We [illegible] it in the [illegible] authenticated by Judge Treat —

"A case being called for [illegible] the Court, Mr. Lincoln stated that he appeared [illegible] to proceed with the argument. He [illegible] first case I have ever had [illegible] examined it with great care. As the Court [illegible] by looking at the abstract of the record, the only question in the case is one of authority. I have not been able to find any authority sustaining my side of the case, but I have found several cases directly in point on the other side. I will now give these cases, and then I shall submit the case."

The testimony of all the lawyers, his contemporaries and rivals, is in the same direction. "In Mr. Lincoln's case of justice and fair play," says Mr. Gillespie, "was an overwhelming trait. I have often listened to him when I thought he would certainly state his case out of Court. It was not in his nature to assume, or to attempt to bolster up, a false position. He would abandon his case first. He did so in the

[illegible] and see their families and [illegible] [illegible] could [illegible] to go." "It was on this [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] gentler [illegible] [illegible] those [illegible] the public [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with the most indifferent [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] remark of a lawyer [illegible]

"In the case of Harris and Jones [illegible] Hickles. He [illegible] wanted Lincoln to assist you and myself. His [illegible] characteristic: 'Tell Harris it's no use to *waste money* [illegible] that case: he'll get beat.'"

Mr. Lincoln was prone to adventures in which [illegible] over the other party. The reader has already [illegible] from the pen of Miss Owen; and here is another, [illegible] rigible humorist, a lawyer, named J. H. Wickizer.

"In 1855 Mr. Lincoln and myself were traveling [illegible] from Woodford County Court to Bloomington. [illegible] passing through a little grove, we suddenly [illegible] squealing of a little pig near by us. Quick as [illegible] Mr. Lincoln leaped out of the buggy, seized a [illegible] upon the old sow, and beat her lustily: she was [illegible] ing one of her young ones. Thus he saved [illegible] then remarked, 'By jing! the unnatural old [illegible] not devour her own progeny!' This, I think, was [illegible] proclamation of freedom."

But Mr. Wickizer gives us another story, which [illegible] pily illustrates the readiness of Mr. Lincoln's [illegible]

"In 1858, in the court at Bloomington, Mr. [illegible] engaged in a case of no great importance; but [illegible] on the other side, Mr. S——, a young lawyer of [illegible] (now a judge of the Supreme Court of the State) [illegible] very sensitive about being beaten, and in [illegible] unusual zeal and interest. The case lasted [illegible] when it was finally submitted to the jury. Mr. S— [illegible] sleepless night in anxiety, and early next [illegible] to his great chagrin, that he had lost the case. [illegible] him at the Court House, and asked him wh[illegible] of his case. With lugubrious countenance and [illegible] Mr. S—— said, 'It's gone to [illegible] Lincoln, 'then you'll see it a[illegible]'

Although the [illegible] of some of his relations [illegible] of constant annoyance and most painful reflections, he never tried to shake them off, and never abandoned them when

stroke [illegible] it [illegible] before [illegible] surprise.

I w[illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible]

"At [illegible] "and [illegible] him to [illegible] wound [illegible]

In [illegible] 1857, [illegible] to one M[illegible] H. N[illegible] W[illegible] D. [illegible] crime. N[illegible] in Mo[illegible] and [illegible] Bat Armstrong [illegible] high [illegible] County," and was there tried [illegible] of 1858. [illegible] Armstrong [illegible] those of a most determined and [illegible]

Armstrong was the son of J[illegible] New S[illegible] the child whose M[illegible] death [illegible] Mrs. Armstrong [illegible] distance. His life was now [illegible] clearly [illegible] and, if he was [illegible] the imposition of some power [illegible] that fatal [illegible] the Norris trial, [illegible] witnesses, and make a jury forget [illegible] facts. Old Hannah had one friend when she [illegible]

Brussels, and at

the hands of some one else." "The evidence [illegible] upon his client," says Mr. Shaw, one of the counsel [illegible] tion. "There were many witnesses, and [illegible] add one more cord that seemed to bind him down. [illegible] Mr. Lincoln was something in the situation of Gulliver [illegible] first sleep in Lilliput. But, when he came [illegible] (that was always his forte), he [illegible] came. He skilfully untied here and there a knot, [illegible] there a peg, until, fairly getting warmed up, he [illegible] himself in his full power, and shook the [illegible] ments from him as if they were cobwebs." [illegible] called for the almanac, and easily proved [illegible] the main witness declared the moon was [illegible] dor, there was, in fact, no moon at all, but black darkness over the whole scene. In the "roar of laughter" and disguised astonishment succeeding this apparent demonstration, court, jury, and counsel forgot to examine that seemingly conclusive almanac, and let it pass without a question concerning its genuineness.[1]

In conclusion, Mr. Lincoln drew a touching picture of Jack Armstrong (whose gentle spirit alas! has gone to [illegible] of coronation for the meek), and Hannah, — this saw [illegible]

[1] Mr. E. J. Loomis, assistant in charge of the "Nautical Almanac" [illegible] D.C., under date of Aug. [illegible] 1891, says:

"Referring to the 'Nautical Almanac' for 1857, I find that [illegible] and eleven o'clock on the night of the 29th of August, as [illegible] of setting.

"The computed time of the setting on that night is [illegible] midnight.

"The moon was only two days past its first quarter, and could not [illegible] for 'nearly full.'"

"In the case of the People v. Armstrong I was a strong partisan [illegible] The prevailing belief at that time, and I may also say at the present, in [illegible] was as follows: —

"Mr. Lincoln, previous to the trial, handed an almanac of the year [illegible] the murder to an officer of the court, stating that he might call for one during the [illegible] did, to send him that one. An important witness for the People had fixed [illegible] of the murder to be in the night, near a camp-meeting, 'that the moon was so [illegible] the same place that the sun would be at twelve o'clock in the morning, and was nearly full, therefore he could see plainly, &c.' At the proper time, Mr. Lincoln called to the officer for an almanac; and the one prepared for the occasion was shown by Mr. Lincoln, he reading from it at the time referred to by the witness: '*The moon had already set.*' That, to the roar of laughter the jury and opposing counsel forgot to look at the date. Mr. Carter, a lawyer of this

[illegible]

Mrs [illegible]

[illegible]

Judge Davis [illegible] H

STEPHEN T. LOGAN.

CHAPTER XIV

We have [illegible] Mr. Lincoln's [illegible]
Hereafter, if Mr. Lincoln's [illegible]
ing to be [illegible] Congress [illegible]
his [illegible] reader [illegible]
and [illegible] with only [illegible]
from [illegible] the [illegible]
his place [illegible], although [illegible]
men in Illinois [illegible]
record [illegible] the War [illegible]
It was [illegible] as it was [illegible] Mr. [illegible]
date, he would have [illegible]
since it was mainly the [illegible]
Judge [illegible] gain found [illegible] them [illegible]
to the end.

Mr. Lincoln was an [illegible]
the office of Commissioner of [illegible]
new War administration. He [illegible]
in the newspapers, and [illegible]
Congress [illegible] Mr. [illegible]
supposed. But it was a [illegible]
(also an Illinois man) [illegible]
and got the appointment. [illegible]
numerous biographers [illegible]
to secure this great [illegible]
merits; but we can [illegible]
have no reason to [illegible]

Mr. Fillmore subsequently offered [illegible]

[illegible]proval of the Fugitive Slave Law as it was [illegible] and declaring wherever he went, that a [illegible] fended as a slave should have the privilege [illegible] stead of the summary processes provided by the [illegible]

Mr. Lincoln and I were going to Peter[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]," says Mr. Herndon. "The political world [illegible] the compromises of 1850 seemed to settle [illegible] things were stagnant, and all hope for progr[illegible] of freedom seemed to be crushed out. Lin[illegible] with me about the deadness of things [illegible] Both arose out of it, and deeply regretting [illegible] strength and power were limited by [illegible] [illegible] the world. He said gloomily, [illegible] How hard, oh! how hard it is to die [illegible] [illegible] no better than if one had never [illegible] [illegible] dead to hope, deaf to its own death-[illegible] [illegible] universally. What is to be [illegible] [illegible]? Who can do [illegible] [illegible] upon every death [illegible] [illegible] 1850 Mr. Lincoln [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

coupled with a most magnanimous pecuniary offer. It is the letter promised in a previous chapter, and makes [illegible] intimate acquaintance of the reader: —

DEAR JOHNSTON, — Your request for eighty dollars, I do not think it best to comply with now. At the various times when I have [illegible] little, you have said to me, "We can get along very well now," but in a short time I find you in the same difficulty again. Now this [illegible] by some defect in your conduct. What that defect is, I think I know. You are not *lazy*, and still you are an *idler*. I doubt whether, since I saw you, you have done a good whole day's work in any one day. You do not [illegible] dislike to work, and still you do not work much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it. This habit of unskillfully [illegible] time is the whole difficulty; and it is vastly important to you, and [illegible] so to your children, that you should break the habit. It is more important to them, because they have longer to live, and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it easier than they can get out after they are in.

You are now in need of some money; and what I propose is that you shall go to work, "tooth and nail," for somebody who will give you money for it. Let father and your boys take charge of things at home, plant a crop, and make the crop, and you go to work for the best wages you can get, or in discharge of any debt you owe, that you can get; and, to [illegible] fair reward for your labor, I now promise you, that, for every dollar you will, between this and the 1st of next May, get for your own labor, either in money or as your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar. By this, if you hire yourself at ten dollars a month, from me you will get ten more, making twenty dollars a month for your work. In this I do not mean you shall go off to St. Louis, or the lead-mines, or the gold-mines in California; but I mean for you to go at it for the best wages you can get close to home, in Cole's County. Now, if you will do this, you will be soon out of debt, and, what is better, you will have a habit that will keep you from getting in debt again. But, if I should now clear you out of debt next year, you would be just as deep in as ever. You say you would almost give your place in heaven for $70 or $80. Then you value your place in heaven very cheap; for I am sure you can, with the offer I make, get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work. You say, if I will furnish you the money, you will deed me the land, and, if you don't pay the money back, you will deliver possession. Nonsense! If you can't now live with the land, how will you then live without it? You have always been kind to me, and I do not mean to be unkind to you. On the contrary, if you will but follow my advice, you will find it worth more than eighty times eighty dollars to you.

Affectionately your brother

A. LINCOLN

start on the road, which I very m[illegible]
home, it can make it convenient [illegible]
no mistake between us as to the [illegible]

On the 1st of July, 1852, Mr. [illegible] public meeting of his fellow-citizens at Sp[illegible] in their hearing a eulogy upon the [illegible] Clay; and on the 16th of the same [illegible] their request. Such addresses [illegible] but this one scarcely deserved the name. [illegible] to be eloquent, and in no part of it is [illegible] narily animated. It is true that [illegible] upon Mr. Clay; but it was delivered in [illegible] tame style, wholly unlike the bulk of [illegible] tions. In truth, Mr. Lincoln was never so [illegible] of Mr. Clay as some of his biographers [illegible] him. He was for another man in 1836, [illegible] another in 1840, and very ardently for another [illegible] Holland credits him with a visit to Mr. [illegible] and an interview which effectually [illegible] of the brilliant statesman. But, in fact, Mr. [illegible] troubled himself to make such a pilgrimage to [illegible] man, — much less Mr. Clay. None of his friends, [illegible] Davis, Mr. Herndon, Mr. Speed, or any one else [illegible] are able to ascertain — ever heard of the visit. [illegible] made at any time after 1838, it could scarcely [illegible] cealed from Mr. Speed; and we are compelled [illegible] along with the multitude of groundless stories [illegible] found currency with Mr. Lincoln's biographers.

If the address upon Clay is of [illegible] is because it discloses Mr. Lincoln's [illegible] with Mr. Clay in his opinions concerning the [illegible] proper method of extinguishing it. [illegible] ual emancipation by the voluntary [illegible] Slave States, and the transportation [illegible] lation to Africa as rapidly as the [illegible]

the dignity of the occasion and the [illegible]
Considered as a whole, it may be said [illegible]
performances was more unworthy [illegible]
than this one. The reader has [illegible]
course of this narrative, as he [illegible]
Douglas's great success in obtaining [illegible]
a standing offence to Mr. Lincoln's [illegible]
ambition. He was intensely jealous [illegible]
pull him down, or outstrip him in the [illegible]
which they united in considering [illegible]
Some of the first sentences of this [illegible]
Club" betray this feeling in a most [illegible]
ful manner. "This speech [that of [illegible]
mond] has been published with high [illegible]
least one of the Democratic papers [illegible]
pose it has been and will be in most [illegible]
first saw it and read it, I was remin[illegible]
Judge Douglas [illegible]
of us, as he is now, — [illegible]
ago, when I used to hear and [illegible]
speeches; and believing that [illegible]
[illegible]

people thereof perfectly free to form and [illegible] their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Mr. Douglas had long since denounced his imprecations upon "the [illegible]" that should disturb that ancient compact of peace between the sections; and now he put forth his own [illegible] to do the deed, and to take the curse, in [illegible] was eminently successful. Not that the Missouri Act could not have been repugnant to the Constitution [illegible] had ever passed upon it; but it was enacted [illegible] pose, was venerable in age, was consecrated [illegible] the people by the unsurpassed eloquence of [illegible] of a previous generation, and having [illegible] of reason, and of covenant, it had [illegible] Union, as its authors designed it should [illegible] a sacred thing, it was not a proper subject [illegible] interference of mere politicians, like [illegible] it to destruction. If upon a [illegible] issue, the Supreme Court should [illegible] the recision [illegible] the compact could be [illegible] North [illegible] to slavery nor for antislavery [illegible] country might still subsist. But [illegible] the [illegible] and it — a [illegible] of Southern [illegible] Northern Democrats — was evident [illegible] slavery into the region north of [illegible] without a [illegible] South, [illegible] was [illegible] proved [illegible] electoral votes, and [illegible]

[illegible] the nomi-
[illegible] country when the
[illegible] known to have
[illegible] the false
[illegible] author the
[illegible] country
[illegible] Mr.
[illegible] And the
[illegible] from the
[illegible] general
[illegible] action
[illegible]
[illegible] and how
[illegible] as they
[illegible] stor
[illegible] were
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

postponed the interests of the blacks to the interests of the whites, and expressly subordinated the one to the other. When he was compelled, by what he deemed an overruling necessity, founded on both military and political considerations, to declare the freedom of the public enemy's slaves, he did so with avowed reluctance, and took pains to have it understood that his resolution was in no wise affected by sentiment. He never at any time favored the admission of negroes into the body of electors, in his own State or in the States of the South. He claimed that those who were incidentally liberated by the Federal arms were poor-spirited, lazy, and slothful; that they could be made soldiers only by force, and willing laborers not at all; that they seemed to have no interest in the cause of their own race, but were as docile in the service of the Rebellion as the mules that ploughed the fields or drew the baggage-trains; and, as a people, were useful only to those who were at the same time their masters and the foes of those who sought their good. With such views honestly formed, it is no wonder that he longed to see them transported to Hayti, Central America, Africa, or anywhere, so that they might in no event, and in no way, participate in the government of his country. Accordingly, he was, from the beginning, as earnest a colonizationist as Mr. Clay, and, even during his Presidency, zealously and persistently devised schemes for the deportation of the negroes, which the latter deemed cruel and atrocious in the extreme. He believed, with his rival, that this was purely a "white man's government;" but he would have been perfectly willing to share its blessings with the black man, had he not been very certain that the blessings would disappear when divided with such a partner. He was no Abolitionist in the popular sense; did not want to break over the safeguards of the Constitution to interfere with slavery where it had a lawful existence; but, wherever his power rightfully extended, he was anxious that the negro should be protected, just as women and children and unnaturalized men are pro-

will adopt it. I asked him to what he [illegible] that was going on in public opinion. He [illegible] put that question to a Kentuckian [illegible] swered by saying, 'You might have [illegible] money in your pocket, or bank-stock, [illegible] around, nobody would be any wiser; but if you had [illegible] trudging at your heels, everybody would [illegible] that you owned a slave.' 'It is the most [illegible] tatious, and displaying property in the world; [illegible] says he, 'if a young man goes courting, the [illegible] how many negroes he or she owns. The love for [illegible] erty was swallowing up every other mercenary [illegible] Its ownership betokened, not only the possession of [illegible] but indicated the gentleman of leisure, who was above [illegible] scorned labor.' These things Mr. Lincoln regarded as [illegible] seductive to the thoughtless and giddy-headed young [illegible] who looked upon work as vulgar and ungentlemanly. Mr. Lincoln was really excited, and said, with great earnestness, that this spirit ought to be met, and, if possible, [illegible] that slavery was a great and crying injustice, and the most national crime, and that we could not expect to escape punishment for it. I asked him how he would proceed in his efforts to check the spread of slavery. *He confessed he did not see his way clearly. I think he made up his mind from that time that he would oppose slavery actively.* I know that Mr. Lincoln always contended that no man had any right other than mere brute force gave him to a slave. He used to say that it was singular that the courts would hold that a man never lost his right to his property that had been stolen from him, but that he instantly lost his right to himself if he was stolen. Mr. Lincoln always contended that the cheapest way of getting rid of slavery was for the nation to buy the slaves, and set them free."

If the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill awakened Lincoln from his dream of security regarding the slavery question, which he hoped had been put to rest by the compromises of 1820 and 1850, it did the same with all like-

the State Fair being in progress there, he spoke at Springfield. His speech was ingenious, and, on the whole, able; but he was on the defensive; and the consciousness of the fact, both on his own part and that of the audience, made him seem weaker than he really was. By common consent the Anti-Nebraska men put up Mr. Lincoln to reply; and he did reply with such power as he had never exhibited before. He was not the Lincoln who had spoken that tame speech over Clay in 1852, or he who had deformed his speech before the "Scott Club" with petty jealousies and gross vulgarisms, but a new and greater Lincoln, the like of whom no one of that vast multitude had ever heard before. He felt and knew he was addressing the people on a living and vital question, not merely for the sake of speaking, but to produce conviction and achieve a great practical result. How he succeeded in his object may be gathered from the following extract from a leading editorial in "The Springfield Journal," written by Mr. Herndon: —

"This Anti-Nebraska speech of Mr. Lincoln was the profoundest, in our opinion, that he has made on his side. He felt upon his soul the truths burn which he uttered, and all present felt that he was true to his own soul. His [illegible] once or twice swelled within, and came near stifling [illegible] . . . He quivered with emotion. The whole house was still as death.

"He attacked the Nebraska Bill with [illegible] energy; and all felt that a man of strong [illegible] was [illegible] that he intended to master it [illegible] efforts. He was most successful [illegible] glorious triumph of truth [illegible] men waved their white handkerchiefs [illegible] silent but heart-felt assent [illegible] within was roused, [illegible] Lincoln. His friends [illegible] powerful argument [illegible] around us. The Nebraska [illegible] of the House, was [illegible]

"calling and election sure" by [illegible] devoted to political philanthropy and [illegible] labors. While the two great national [illegible] suffrages of the people, North and So[illegible] eyes was "dead." He detested the [illegible] parties were in the habit of composing [illegible] and sacrificing the "principle of freedom." [illegible] party "paid its breath to time," he looked [illegible] nies as but another instance of divine retrib[illegible] no patience with time-servers, and regar[illegible] contempt the "policy" which would [illegible] rights of an enslaved race to the succe[illegible] tieians. He stood by at the sacrifice [illegible] Illinois with the spirit of Paul when he [illegible] them that stoned Stephen." He believed [illegible] and hoped to see a new party rise to its pro[illegible] fervor of its faith, and animated by the spi[illegible] Garrison, and the Lovejoys. He was [illegible] gloried proudly in his title of "fanatic," [illegible] tion" that fanatics were at all times [illegible] wie power to save it from the blight [illegible] ness of men. He believed [illegible] nature, — the God of Sciences [illegible] of freedom. He believed in a B[illegible] [illegible] and in a religion [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] and hymns [illegible]

JOHN T. STUART.

natural antislavery man, as I think, [illegible] ing, — needed hope, faith, energy; [illegible] him. Lincoln and I were just the opposite one of [illegible] He was cautious and practical; I was [illegible] speculative. He arrived at truths by reflection; I, by [illegible] tion; he, by reason; I, by my soul. He calculated [illegible] to toil asking no questions, never doubting. Lincoln [illegible] faith in my intuitions, and I had great faith in his [illegible]

Of course such a man as we have described Mr. [illegible] to be could have nothing but loathing and disgust [illegible] secret oaths, the midnight lurking, and the proscriptive spirit of Know-Nothingism. "A number of gentlemen [illegible] cago," says he, "among them the editor of 'The Sun of the West,' an Abolitionist paper published in Chicago, [illegible] me in my office, and asked my advice as to the policy [illegible] into Know-Nothing Lodges, and ruling them for freedom. I opposed it as being wrong in principle, as well as a fraud [illegible] the lodges, and wished to fight it out in open daylight. Lincoln was opposed to Know-Nothingism, but did not say much in 1854 or 1855 (did afterwards). I told Lincoln what we said, and argued the question with him often, insisting that as we were advocating *freedom for the slave in tendency* under the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, it was radically wrong to crush out the religious ideas and faith of men. The gentleman who waited on me as before stated asked me if I thought Mr. Lincoln could be trusted for freedom. I said to him, 'Can you trust yourselves? If you can, you can trust Lincoln forever.'"

With this explanation of the political views of Mr. Herndon, and his personal relations to Mr. Lincoln, the reader will more easily understand what follows.

"This State Fair," continues Mr. Herndon, "[illegible] thousands to the city. We Abolitionists all assembled here, taking advantage of the fair to organize and disseminate our ideas. As soon as Lincoln had finished his speech, Lew Joy, who had been in the hall, rushed up to the stand and notified the crowd that there would be a meeting there in the evening

Before proceeding, [illegible]
dice against the Southern people. [illegible]
would be in their situation. [illegible]
among them, they would [illegible]
exist amongst us we should [illegible]
believe of the masses North and South [illegible]
individuals on both sides who would [illegible]
any circumstances, and others [illegible]
anew if it were out of existence. [illegible]
Southern men do free their slaves [illegible]
tip-top Abolitionists: while some [illegible]
and become cruel slave-masters.

"When Southern people tell us they [illegible]
sible for the origin of slavery than we, I [illegible]
fact. When it is said that the institution [illegible]
it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory [illegible]
understand and appreciate the saying. *I see [illegible]*
them for not doing what I should not know [illegible]
If all earthly power were given me, I should [illegible]
do as to the existing institution. My first [illegible]
to free all the existing slaves, and send them [illegible]
their own native land: but a moment's reflection [illegible]
vince me that whatever of high hope (as [illegible]
there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden [illegible]
impossible. If they were all landed [illegible]
would all perish in the next ten days: and there [illegible]
plus shipping and surplus money enough [illegible]
carry them there in many times ten years. [illegible]
Free them all, and keep them among us [illegible]
quite certain that this betters their condition [illegible]
would not hold one in slavery at any [illegible]
clear enough to me to denounce people [illegible]
Free them, and make them politically [illegible]
My own feelings will not admit of this [illegible]
we all know that those [illegible]
would not. Whether this [illegible]
sound judgment [illegible]

by which all parties were pledged to abide [illegible] was no uninhabited country on the continent which [illegible] acquire, if we except some extreme Northern regions, which are wholly out of the question. In this state of the case [illegible] Genius of Discord himself could scarcely have invented a way of getting us by the ears, but by turning back and destroying the peace measures of the past.

. . . . .

"The structure, too, of the Nebraska Bill is very peculiar. The people are to decide the question of slavery for themselves; but *when* they are to decide, or *how* they are to decide, or whether, when the question is once decided, it is to remain so, or is to be subject to an indefinite succession of new trials, the law does not say. Is it to be decided by the first dozen settlers who arrive there, or is it to wait the arrival of a hundred? Is it to be decided by a vote of the people, or a vote of the Legislature, or judge, or a vote of any sort? To these questions the law gives no [illegible]. There is a mystery about this, for when a member proposed to give the Legislature express authority to exclude slavery, it was hooted down by the friends of the bill. This [illegible] worth remembering. Some Yankees in the [illegible] emigrants to Nebraska to exclude slavery [illegible] as I can judge, they expect the question [illegible] voting in some way or other. But we [illegible] awake too. They are with [illegible] ground. They hold meetings [illegible] not the slightest allusion [illegible] that slavery already exists [illegible] go there; and that they, remembering [illegible] and that Abolitionists shall be [illegible] bowie-knives and [illegible] a glimpse of the [illegible] result of [illegible]. Each party [illegible] determined [illegible] rest will come of [illegible] and [illegible] more apt inventions [illegible]

[illegible] He readily agreed to [illegible]
word of the late agreement [illegible]
charge. Judge Douglas [illegible]
among his friends. Whether [illegible]
bacon before this agreement [illegible]
ived this clever mode of deceptio[illegible]
ined. But, when they arrived at [illegible]
was too hoarse to speak, although [illegible]
eople of the county assembled to [illegible]
with unheard-of magnanimity, [illegible]
would not like to take advantage of [illegible]
nd would not address the people [illegible]
the affair in the same light [illegible]
peech." but he persisted [illegible]

Of course, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. D[illegible]
the campaign. Mr. Douglas [illegible]
Prairie[illegible] but Mr. Lin[illegible]
[illegible] of the agreement. [illegible]
[illegible] speech and publish[illegible]

The Illinois Party [illegible]
[illegible] of seeking a[illegible]
[illegible] reason for this [illegible]
[illegible] answer [illegible]
[illegible] Mr. [illegible]

ture saved Mr. Lincoln to the Republicans of Illinois, to be brought forward at the critical moment as a new and [illegible] candidate for the Presidency. They were Judge [illegible] of Cook County, Palmer of Macoupin, Cook of La Salle, Bi[illegible] and Allen of Madison. They called themselves Democrats, and, with the modesty peculiar to bolters, claimed to be the only "Simon-pure." "They could not act with the Democrats from principle, and would not act with the Whigs from policy;" but holding off from the caucuses of both parties, they demanded that all Anti-Nebraska should come to them, or sacrifice the most important fruits of their late victory at the polls. But these were not the only enemies Mr. Lincoln could count in the body of his party. The Abolitionists suspected him, and were slow to come to his support. Judge Davis came to Springfield, and thinks he "got some" of this class "to go for" him; but it is probable they were "got" in another way. Mr. Lovejoy was a member, and required, as the condition of his support and that of his followers, that Mr. Lincoln should pledge himself to favor the exclusion of slavery from *all* the Territories of the United States. This was a long step in advance of any that Mr. Lincoln had previously taken. He was, as a matter of course, opposed to the introduction of slavery into the Territories north of the line of 36° 30′; but he had, up to this time, regarded all south of that as being honestly open to slavery. The villany of obliterating that line, and the necessity of its immediate restoration, — in short, the perfect sanctity of the Missouri settlement, — had formed the burden of all his speeches in the preceding canvass. But these opinions by no means suited the Abolitionists, and they required him to change them forthwith. He thought it would be wise to do so, considering the peculiar circumstances of his case; but, before committing himself finally, he sought an understanding with Judge Logan. He told the judge what he was disposed to do, and said he would act upon the inclination, if the judge could not regard it as "treading upon his toes." The judge said he was opposed to the doctrine proposed; but, for the sake of the

height of his [illegible]
He manifested, however, [illegible]
the other Anti-Nebraska Dem[illegible]
was beaten, but evidently thoug[illegible]
right. He told me several [illegible]
election of Trumbull was the [illegible]
happened."

In the great campaign of 1858, M[illegible]
occasions insisted, that, in 1854, Mr. Lincoln [illegible]
bull, being until then political enemies, [illegible]
agreement to abolitionize, the one the Wh[illegible]
the Democratic party; and, in order that [illegible]
unrewarded for a service so timely and [illegible] Trum-
bull had agreed on the one hand that Mr. [illegible]
have Shields's seat in the United States S[illegible]
and Mr. Lincoln had agreed, on the other, [illegible]
bull should have Douglas's seat (in 1859). [illegible]
alleged, that, when the first election (in 1854) [illegible]
Trumbull treated his fellow-conspirator with [illegible]
duplicity, and cheated himself into the S[illegible]
in advance of his appointed time: that Mr. [illegible]
being greatly incensed thereat, Col. John H. M[illegible]
Lincoln's "friend and manager for [illegible] exposed
the plot and the treachery; that, in order [illegible]
conciliate the injured party, Mr. Lincoln [illegible]
senatorial nomination in 1858, and thus a[illegible]
a candidate in pursuance of a bargain [illegible]
But it is enough to say here, that Mr. Lincoln [illegible]
emphatically denied the accusation as [illegible]
and bestowed upon the character of Judge Trumbull [illegible]
ums as lofty and as warm as he ever bestowed [illegible]
temporary. With the exception of Col. Mat[illegible] and
none of Mr. Lincoln's peculiar [illegible] of Judge
Trumbull; but as many of them as have [illegible] the rec-
ords before us (and they are numerous and prominent) speak
of the purity, devotion, and ex[illegible] of Judge Trumbull in
the most unreserved and [illegible] and in

deeply, lest his rival should unearth the [illegible] pledge Lovejoy, of which Judge Logan has given us the [illegible] When Judge Douglas produced a set of resolutions which said had been passed by the Abolitionists at [illegible] tion at Springfield, during the State Fair (the [illegible] to by Mr. Herndon), and asserted that Mr. Lincoln [illegible] of the committee that reported them, the latter replied [illegible] great spirit, and said what he could say with perfect [illegible] that he was not near Springfield when that [illegible] that his name had been used without his consent.

[illegible]ators of, the contest. As participants, [illegible] representatives. The struggle opened in Kansas, [illegible] the South. During the passage of the bill organizing [illegible] Territory, preparations had been extensively made [illegible] Missouri border, by "Blue Lodges" and "Social Bodies" [illegible] the purpose of getting control of its Territorial government. The whole eastern border of the Territory was [illegible] marauders; and they were not slow to encourage the [illegible] of meeting their enemies with so many advantages in [illegible]. Public meetings were held in many of the frontier counties of Missouri, in which the people were [illegible] to go over and take early possession of the Territory, [illegible] themselves in readiness to remove all emigrants who should go there under the auspices of the Northern Aid Societies. It was with these "Border Ruffians," and some [illegible] from Alabama and South Carolina, with a few vagabond [illegible] and "generals" from the Slave States [illegible] the South began the struggle. Of course, [illegible] complacency upon such a state of things. [illegible] of the Missouri Compromise startled [illegible] Free States from their sense of security, the [illegible] "popular sovereignty," as it [illegible] was sufficient to arouse public sentiment to an [illegible] degree. Kansas became at once a subject of [illegible]. Societies were formed for throwing into [illegible] with the utmost expedition, settlers who could be [illegible] control her government in the interest of freedom. At the same time there was set in train all the [illegible] that could be used to agitate the question, [illegible] "Bleeding Kansas" was heard throughout the land.

It is not necessary in this connection to set down [illegible] the raids, assassinations, burnings, robberies, and [illegible] frauds which followed. Enough if their origin and character be understood. For this present purpose, a [illegible] only will be given of what occurred during the long struggle to make Kansas a Slave State; [illegible] upon the political issues which arose during the contest, [illegible] discussions

[illegible] TO MR. GARRISON.

[illegible]

[illegible] May, I have [illegible] that in point [illegible] and you [illegible] But [illegible] the slave, [illegible] especially at [illegible]

bidding of those who are not themselves in [illegible] the Union disposed. I am not aware that [illegible] that right. Very certainly I am not [illegible] I also acknowledge *your* rights and [illegible] regard to your slaves. [illegible] I hate [illegible] down and caught and carried back to their [illegible] but I hate my life, and the prejudice [illegible] low-water trip on a steamboat down the Ohio. You may remember as I well do that, from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together [illegible] That sight was a continued torment to me; and I see [illegible] every time I touch the Ohio or any other slave land. [illegible] you to understand that I have no interest in a thing which [illegible] exercises the power of making me miserable. You [illegible] appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people [illegible] in order to maintain the rights of the Constitution. [illegible] I do [illegible] slaves, and of slave holders, may be [illegible] prompt [illegible] and I am rather in obligations to the South [illegible] I [illegible] rather we must. You say [illegible] the Missouri [illegible] was elected [illegible] of Kansas [illegible] herself a Slave State. She must be a [illegible] the Kansas question is resolved. But how [illegible] herself a Slave State? [illegible] by the very [illegible] say you would have [illegible] Missouri [illegible] elected? This will [illegible] question in Kansas. I plainly see you and I would differ about the Nebraska law. I look upon that enactment as a *law*, on a *question* [illegible] It was conceived in [illegible] and brought forth in violence. I say it was [illegible] violence, because [illegible] the Missouri Compromise [illegible] the circumstances [illegible] less than violence. It was passed in violence, because it could [illegible] at all but for the votes of many members in violence of their constituents. It is *maintained* in violence, because there [illegible] early demand its repeal, and the demand is purely [illegible]

You say men ought to be hung for the way they are [illegible] that law, and *I* say the way it is being executed is quite as good as [illegible] It is being executed in the precise way which was intended from the first. Else why does no Nebraska man express astonishment or [illegible] Poor Reeder is the only public man who has been silly enough to believe that any thing like fairness was ever intended; and he has been bravely undeceived.

That Kansas will form a slave constitution, and with it will ask to be admitted into the Union, I take to be already a settled question, and so

[illegible]

[illegible] March. [illegible] Congress [illegible] The [illegible] Democratic Convention [illegible] 1861. [illegible] for the Territories, and also in [illegible] Congress, to [illegible] the second Tuesday [illegible] These two rival conventions for a congressional [illegible] ace on different days, at the former of which Wentworth [illegible]

If you have the majority, as some of [illegible] you can succeed with the ballot, throwing a[illegible] You can peacefully then, redeem the Government [illegible] the liberties of mankind, through your vote [illegible] moral influence. Let there be peace. In [illegible] the majority rule by the ballot through the [illegible] these physical rebellions and [illegible] are treason. [illegible] have time to those you know not [illegible] tion of Independence says that governments [illegible] for trivial causes should not be resisted. Revolution [illegible] the ballot-box, and restore the Government [illegible] the affections and hearts of men, by making it [illegible] was intended to do, in the highest spirit of justice and [illegible] Your attempt, if there be such, to resist the laws of Kansas by force, is criminal and wicked; and all your feeble attempts will be follies, and end in bringing some of you to [illegible] and ruin the cause you would freely die to preserve.

"This little speech," continues Mr. Henderson, [illegible] in print. It is a part of a much longer one, like [illegible] print. This speech squelched the ideas of physical resistance and directed our energies through other more effective channels, which his wisdom and coolness pointed out to us. His little speech, so timely and well made, saved many [illegible] great follies, if not our necks from the halter. The money [illegible] it is no more; but this little speech, I hope, [illegible] be forgotten. Mr. Lincoln himself, after this [illegible] money to the people of Kansas *under conditions*, [illegible] will relate in other ways. He was not alone [illegible] and the same paper, I think, for the same [illegible] erfully; and would do it again, only [illegible] no conditions, only the good people's wise [illegible]

Early in 1856 it became painfully apparent [illegible] that he must take a decisive stand upon [illegible] day, and become a Know-Nothing, a Democrat, a Republican, or an Abolitionist. Mere "Anti-Nebraska" [illegible] no longer: the members of that ephemeral [illegible] ek-

into my office, seemed mad, horrified, and said to me, 'Sir, did Mr. Lincoln sign that letter, which I published this morning?' I answered, 'Mr. Lincoln did sign that card.' — 'Did Lincoln authorize you to sign it?' — Mr. Strutt. 'No: he never authorized me to sign it.' — 'Then do you know that you have ruined Mr. Lincoln?' — 'I did not know that I had ruined Mr. Lincoln: and no intent to do so: thought he was a made man by it: that the time had come when conservatism was a crime and a blunder. — 'You, then, take the responsibility of your acts; do you?' — 'I do, most emphatically.'

"However, I instantly sat down and wrote to Mr. Lincoln, who was then in Pekin or Tremont, — possibly at court. He received my letter, and instantly replied, either by letter or telegraph, — most likely by letter, — that he adopted *in toto* what I had done, and promised to meet the radicals — i. e. Lovejoy, and suchlike men — among us."

At Bloomington Lincoln was the great figure. Beside him all the rest — even the oldest in the faith and the strongest in the work — were small. Yet he was universally regarded as a recent convert, although the most important one that could be made in the State of Illinois. "We met at Bloomington: and it was there," says Mr. Herndon in one of his lectures, "that Mr. Lincoln was baptized, and joined our church. He made a speech to us. I have heard or read all Mr. Lincoln's great speeches; and I give it as my opinion, on my best judgment, that the Bloomington speech was the grand effort of his life. Heretofore, and up to this moment, he had simply argued the slavery question on grounds of policy, — on what are called the statesman's grounds, — never reaching the question of the radical and the eternal right. Now he was newly baptized and freshly born: he had the fervor of a new convert: the smothered flame broke out: enthusiasm unusual to him blazed up: his eyes were aglow with an inspiration, he felt justice: his heart was alive to the right: his sympathies, remarkably deep for him, gushed forth, and he stood before the throne of the eternal Right, in pres-

WILLIAM H. HERNDON.

the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as an accomplished fact, and opposed "the extension of slavery into Territories hereafter acquired." It was said at the time that Mr. Lincoln was present, and rolling at the passage of such resolutions, that Mr. Herndon and others thereafter regarded him as a "newborn" Abolitionist. It may have been the general warmth of his speech against the South — his manifestation of sympathy for fugitives and slaveholding, as exhibited in his words, — which led them to believe that his feelings and, perhaps, his opinions, were similar to theirs. But the reader will see, nevertheless, as we get along in our history, that the Bloomington resolutions were the actual statement of Mr. Lincoln's views: that he contributed to express a strict fidelity to maintain the rights of the Slave States under the Constitution, and to oppose conspicuously plain his abhorrence of negro suffrage and negro equality. He certainly disliked the Southern politicians very much; but even that sentiment, growing daily more fierce and ominous in the masses of the new party, was in his case counterbalanced by his prejudices or his caution, and he never saw the day when he would willingly have clothed the negroes with political privileges.

Notwithstanding the conservative character of the resolutions, the proceedings of the Bloomington Convention were alarming to a portion of the community, and seem to have found little favor with the people of Springfield. About five days after its adjournment, Herndon and Lincoln bethought them of holding a ratification meeting. Mr. Herndon got out huge posters, announcing the event, and employed a band of musicians to parade the streets and "drum up a crowd." As the hour of meeting drew near, he "lit up the Court House with many blazes," rung the bells, and blew a horn. At seven o'clock the meeting should have been called to order, but it turned out to be extremely slim. There was no one present, with all those brilliant lights, but A. Lincoln, W. H. Herndon, and John Pain. "When Lincoln came into the court-room," says the bill-poster and horn-blower of this great demonstration, "he came with a sadness and a sense of the

convenient disguise, and who could be [illegible] party, except from motives of self-interest. As [illegible] not quite certain whether it were possible to rais[illegible] the North[illegible]n mind against foreigners [illegible] against slave-holders; and they [illegible] a situation [illegible] lodges, took the oath, [illegible] "National Council" of 1855, and [illegible] do that, or [illegible] the organization of the Republican [illegible] the prospect seemed good or bad. Believing the [illegible] to be the best, upon deliberation, they [illegible] them lay, and then told the old [illegible] men, with whom they again sought [illegible] they had joined the Know-Nothings, [illegible] proscribe foreigners and [illegible] rule the order "for freedom." [illegible] ing in much need of old just [illegible] considered very good. But it was [illegible] for Lincoln and Hendon; and [illegible] despised it.

In February, 1856, the Republicans held their Mr. Greeley styles their "first National Convention" at Pittsburg; but they made no nominations there. At the same time, a Know-Nothing American "National Convention" was [illegible] at Philadelphia, to be followed by a nominating convention; and the Republicans at Pittsburg had not adjourned [illegible] they got news by telegraph, that the patriots who [illegible] the lodges on false pretences were achieving a great success; the American party was disintegrating, and a great section of it falling away to the Republicans. Almost [illegible] political feat had been performed, and the way was [illegible] apparently clear for a union of the anti-[illegible]-Democratic elements in the Presidential canvass.

On the 17th of June the National Republican Convention met at Philadelphia, and nominated John C. Fremont for President, and William L. Dayton for Vice-President. Mr. Williams, Chairman of the Illinois Delegation, presented to

braska, as embodying the only [illegible] of the slavery question," and [illegible].

"Thus by the [illegible] principles to the organization of Territories [illegible] new States, with or without slavery [illegible] rights of all the States [illegible] compacts of the Constitution [illegible] perpetuity and extension of the Union [illegible] capacity of any [illegible] American State [illegible] republican form of government."

Mr. Lincoln was again [illegible] Presidential [illegible] Some of his speeches [illegible] in the country [illegible] — Kansas, and [illegible] origin [illegible] intimation that the election of Fremont would [illegible] lution of the Union, or that it could [illegible] even the occasion of a dissolution. In his speeches [illegible] dissatisfaction were [illegible]; the [illegible] character, and the fear of its [illegible] tyrannical.

In the heat of the canvass, Mr. Lincoln [illegible] perfectly characteristic letter, — [illegible]

Springfield, [illegible] 1856

Harrison Maltby, Esq.,

Dear Sir. — I understand you are a Fillmore man. [illegible] you that every vote withdrawn from Fremont and given to Fillmore in this State actually lessens Fillmore's chance of being President.

Suppose Buchanan gets all the Slave States and Fremont [illegible] any other one State besides; then [illegible] matter who gets the rest.

But suppose Fillmore gets the two Slave States of Maryland and Kentucky; then Buchanan is not elected. Fillmore goes to the House of Representatives, and may be made President by a compromise.

But suppose, again, Fillmore's friends throw away a few votes on him in Indiana and Illinois; it will inevitably give those States to Buchanan, which will more than compensate him for the loss of Maryland and Kentucky; will elect him, and leave Fillmore [illegible] in the House [illegible].

In June, 1857, Judge Douglas made a speech at Springfield, in which he attempted to vindicate the wisdom and fairness of the law under which the people of Kansas were about to choose delegates to a convention to be held at Lecompton to frame a State constitution. He declared with emphasis, that, if the Free-State party refused to vote at this election, they alone would be blamable for the pro-slavery constitution which might be formed. The Free-State men professed to have a vast majority, — "three-fourths," "four-fifths," "nine-tenths," of the voters of Kansas. If these willingly stood away from the polls, and allowed the minority to choose the delegates and make the constitution, Mr. Douglas thought they ought to abide the result, and not oppose the constitution adopted. Mr. Douglas's speech indicated clearly that he himself would countenance no opposition to the forthcoming Lecompton Convention, and that he would hold the Republican politicians responsible if the result failed to be satisfactory to them.

Judge Douglas seldom spoke in that region without provoking a reply from his constant and vigilant antagonist. Mr. Lincoln heard this speech with a critical ear, and then, waiting only for a printed report of it, prepared a reply to be delivered a few weeks later. The speeches were neither of them of much consequence, except for the fact that Judge Douglas seemed to have plainly committed himself in advance to the support of the Lecompton Constitution. Mr. Lincoln took that much for granted; and, arguing from sundry indications that the election would be fraudulently conducted, he insisted that Mr. Douglas himself, as the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the inventor of "popular sovereignty," had made this "outrage" possible. He did not believe there were any "Free-State Democrats" in Kansas to make it a Free State without the aid of the Republicans, whom he held to be a vast majority of the population. The latter, he contended, were not *all* registered; and, because *all* were not registered, he thought none ought to vote. But Mr. Lincoln advised no bloodshed, no civil war, no roadside assas-

These speeches were delivered [illegible]
date, in the month of June; the [illegible]
edly, the important issues [illegible] M[illegible]
and Mr. Douglas in the famous [illegible]
as no choice but to look [illegible]
taken place [illegible]

[illegible] June 1857 [illegible]
The administration of President Pi[illegible]
the less in support of the [illegible]
urged the Legislature [illegible]
Territory, and gave [illegible]
ments. Gov. Shannon [illegible]
[illegible] John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania [illegible]
Gov. Geary [illegible]
[illegible] as recognized by the Legislature [illegible]
organized government [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Congress, and [illegible]
[illegible] President Pi[illegible]
Robert J. Walker, Messrs. [illegible]
with Hon. F. P. Stanton, [illegible] Pi[illegible]
were strong Democrats; [illegible]
the policy of the administration [illegible]
presidential canvass [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Mes-
sage, — the absolute freedom of the people [illegible]
to form such governments [illegible]
visions of the Constitution. Gov. W[illegible]
tary carnesty set the [illegible]
The governor, in various addresses [illegible] Ter-
ritory, assured all parties that [illegible]
free expression of the wishes [illegible] Ter-
ritorial legislature; and he best [illegible] to
give up their separate Territorial organization under which

vailed: the vote against the [illegible] ng over ten thousand. Thus the [illegible] Territory was [illegible]. Under the [illegible] Free-State Legislature [illegible] at Wyandotte, in March, 1859. A [illegible] was adopted, under which Kansas was [illegible] into the Union.

[illegible] Kansas [illegible] of [illegible] to note, [illegible] of Judge [illegible] of [illegible] zen. [illegible] sion that [illegible] severely [illegible] utmost [illegible] When [illegible] Constitution [illegible] Judge [illegible] this [illegible] Up to [illegible] on the constitution [illegible] of the whole [illegible] Kansas. [illegible] nedy in the [illegible] He [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] Kansas-Nebraska [illegible] weeks [illegible] [illegible] Kansas [illegible] Lecompton [illegible] of Kansas, [illegible] — the [illegible] — in denouncing and defeating it. The Kansas [illegible] had borne its appropriate fruits, — the fruits [illegible] ed by

CHAPTER XVI

ALTHOUGH [illegible] in Kansas, Mr. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] just [illegible] most [illegible] the Lecompton Constitution was [illegible] the people of Kansas.

Accordingly, Mr. Douglas [illegible] at the [illegible] shall [illegible] [illegible] It is [illegible] speaking and voting [illegible] of the question. He [illegible] in the Senate and [illegible] committee [illegible] English Bill [illegible] Illinois [illegible] of the people [illegible] wholly and [illegible] anti-Democratic [illegible] not to [illegible] influence upon the [illegible]

During [illegible] Mr. Douglas [illegible] with the leaders of the Republican [illegible]

longed to the Slave States, and its [illegible] embracing the whole line of the Pacific from the British possessions to Mexico, struck me as the most [illegible] ever conceived by the human mind. This [illegible] conversation, so frequently employed by Mr. D[illegible] those with whom he talked, and [illegible] their minds, enlisted them in his behalf [illegible] must every instance, their opinion of the [illegible] In support of this view, Mr. Douglas [illegible] the battle under his bill w[illegible] Free-State men had, perhaps [illegible] and could take possession [illegible] as the case might be, when [illegible] The laboring classes of the [illegible] the western Territories. [illegible] and increasing Eur[illegible] and, it both together failed. [illegible] anti-slavery organizations [illegible] great bodies of emigrants, [illegible] a public purpose. [illegible] social, political, and material [illegible] its voting population [illegible] impossible. It might send here a man with [illegible] another. It might insist [illegible] rights in the common Territories [illegible] them: but it could never [illegible] Tennessee with cosey farmsteads, or [illegible] and popular white men; and yet this [illegible] give political character to the rising communities. Such clearly were to be the results of "popular sovereignty," as Mr. Douglas had up to that time maintained it to be in the Nebraska Bill.

It signified the right of the people of a Territory to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way" when, and not before, they came to frame a State constitution. The Missouri line, on the contrary, had been a sort of convention, which, by common consent, gave the north of it to freedom, and all south of it to slavery. But popular sover-

versy, whatever has been said has had reference to negro slavery. We have not been in a controversy about the right of the people to govern themselves in the ordinary matters of domestic concern in the States and Territories. Mr. Buchanan, in one of his late messages (I think when he sent up the Lecompton Constitution), urged that the main point to which the public attention had been directed was not in regard to the great variety of small domestic matters, but it was directed to negro slavery; and he asserts, that, if the people had had a fair chance to vote on that question, there was no reasonable ground of objection in regard to minor questions. Now, while I think that the people have not had given them, or offered them, a fair chance upon that slavery question, still, if they had been a fair opportunity to vote upon that main question, the President's proposition would have been true to the utermost. Hence, when hereafter I speak of popular sovereignty, I wish to be understood as applying what I say to the question of slavery and not to other minor domestic matters of a Territory or a State.

"Does Judge Douglas, when he says that a part of the past years of his life have been devoted to the question of popular sovereignty, and that in the remainder of his life shall be devoted to it,—does he mean to say that he has been devoting his life to securing to the people of the Territories the right to exclude slavery from the Territories? If he means so to say, he means to deceive, because he can, every one knows that the decision of the Supreme Court, which he approves, and makes an especial ground of attack upon me for disapproving, forends the people of a Territory to exclude slavery. This covers the whole ground from the settlement of a Territory till it reaches the degree of maturity entitling it to form a State constitution. So far as all that ground is concerned, the judge is not sustaining popular sovereignty, but absolutely opposing it. He sustains the decision which declares that the popular will of the Territories has no constitutional power to exclude slavery during their territorial existence. This being so, the period of time from the first

giving him any power. Covode was employed to notify Judge Trumbull; but he met with no success, and went away without so much as delivering the message with which Mr. Douglas had charged him. The message was a simple proposition of alliance with the home Republicans, to the effect, that, if they agreed to return him to the Senate in 1858, he would fight their Presidential battle in 1860. Judge Trumbull did not even hear it, but he was well assured that Mr. Douglas was "an applicant for admission into the Republican party." "It was reported to me at that time," said he, "that such was the fact; and such appeared to be the universal understanding among the Republicans at Washington. I will state another fact, — I almost quarrelled with some of my best Republican friends in regard to this matter. I was willing to receive Judge Douglas into the Republican party on probation: but I was not, as these Republican friends were, willing to receive him, and place him at the head of our ranks."

Toward the latter part of April, 1858, a Democratic State Convention met in Illinois, and, besides nominating a ticket for State officers, indorsed Mr. Douglas. This placed him in the field for re-election as an Anti-Lecompton Democrat: but it by no means shook the faith of his recently acquired Republican friends: they thought it very natural, under the circumstances, that his ways should be a little devious, and his policy somewhat dark. He had always said he could do more for them by seeming to remain within the Democratic party; and they looked upon this latest proceeding — his practical nomination by a Democratic convention — as the foundation for an act of stupendous treason between that time and the Presidential election. They continued to press the Republicans of Illinois to make no nomination against him, — to vote for him, to trust him, to follow him, as a sincere and manifestly a powerful antislavery leader. These representations had the effect of seducing away, for a brief time, Mr. Washburne and a few others among the lesser politicians of the State; but, when they found the party at large irrevocably

"That Hon. Abraham Lincoln is our first choice for United States senator to fill the vacancy about to be created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas's term."

That evening Mr. Lincoln came home with Mr. Herndon. Having [illegible] the door and put the key in his own pocket, he pulled from his pocket the manuscript of his speech, and proceeded to read it slowly and distinctly. When he had [illegible] he came to a dead pause, and [illegible] with the inquiry, "How long [illegible] think of it?" — "I think," replied Mr. Herndon, [illegible] but is it entirely *politic* to [illegible] speak it as it is?" — "That makes no difference," Mr. Lincoln said. "This expression is a truth of a [illegible] experience. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand;' and he [illegible] read.' The proposition is indisputably true, and [illegible] true for more than six thousand years; and — I [illegible] as written. I want to use [illegible] universally known [illegible] expressed in simple language [illegible] universally know [illegible] strike home to the minds of [illegible] in order to [illegible] the people of the times. I would [illegible] *expression in* the speech, and [illegible] the people, than *to be victorious without it.*"

It may be questioned [illegible] Mr. Lincoln [illegible] right to indulge in such a [illegible] man in a close contest. He had other interests than [illegible] in charge; he was bound to [illegible] possible secure the success of a party which had [illegible] its leader. He knew that [illegible] enunciated, would alienate [illegible] It was his duty to cast these [illegible] asked to sacrifice any principle of the party [illegible] of his own previously expressed [illegible] the trial of an experiment, to [illegible] startling theory, and to leave [illegible] from the hands of its makers, [illegible] ment, of which they had never [illegible] It is evident that

among them condemned the speech in substance and spirit, and especially that section quoted above. They unanimously declared that the whole speech was too far in advance of the times; and they all condemned that section or part of his speech already quoted, as unwise and impolitic, if not false. William H. Herndon sat still while they were giving their respective opinions of its unwisdom and enormity; then he sprang to his feet and said, 'Lincoln, deliver it just as it reads. If it is in advance of the times, let us — you and I, if no one else — lift the people to the level of this speech now, higher hereafter. The speech is true, wise, and policic, and will succeed now or in the future. Now, you and you, it will not cause you President of the United States.'

"Mr. Lincoln sat still a short moment, rose from his chair, walked backwards and forwards in the hall, stopped and said, 'Friends, I have thought about this matter a great deal, have weighed the question well from all corners, and am thoroughly convinced the time has come when it should be uttered; and if it must be that I must go down in sense of this speech, then let me go down linked to truth — down in the advance of what is right and just. This nation cannot live on injustice, — "a house divided against itself cannot stand," I say again and again.' This was spoken with some degree of emotion, — the effects of his love of truth, and sorrow from the disagreement of his friends with himself."

On the evening of the 17th this speech — known since as "The House-divided-against-itself Speech" — was delivered to an immense audience in the hall of the House of Representatives. Mr. Lincoln never pronounced words which had a more prodigious influence upon the public mind, or which more directly and powerfully affected his own career. It was as follows: —

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION, — If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to

While the Nebraska Bill was passing through [illegible] into every [illegible] of a negro [illegible] volunteer [illegible] into a free State [illegible] by the [illegible] Fugitive Slave Law [illegible] passing through the [illegible] District of Columbia, and with the Nebraska [illegible] to a decision in the [illegible] month of May [illegible] Scott, which [illegible] design to the [illegible]

Before [illegible] President [illegible] was urged to the Supreme Court [illegible] it was [illegible] over the country. St. [illegible] Trumbull [illegible] the floor of the Senate, [illegible] the [illegible] Nebraska [illegible] state [illegible] was [illegible] State [illegible] Supreme Court.

The [illegible] Mr. Buchanan [illegible] [illegible] Dr. [illegible] [illegible] L[illegible] [illegible] down [illegible] party he was [illegible] principle [illegible] which he declares he [illegible] to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle [illegible] personal feel-

The [illegible] to be left [illegible] perfectly [illegible] tion." What the Constitution had to [illegible] Plainly [illegible] it was a [illegible] for afterward [illegible] be just no freedom at all.

Why was the amendment [illegible] exclude slavery [illegible] have [illegible]

[illegible]

It [illegible] State [illegible] The [illegible] did not [illegible] Constitution [illegible] Territories [illegible] State [illegible] tion [illegible]

While [illegible] at the court by [illegible] Dred-Scott case [illegible] separate opinions [illegible] expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States [illegible] Congress nor a Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery [illegible] United States

d re...
...ists.

he was doomed to hear for several months. "Well, Lincoln," said he, "that foolish speech of yours will kill you, — will defeat you in this contest, and probably for all offices for all time to come. I am sorry, sorry, — very sorry: I wish it was wiped out of existence. Don't you wish it, now?" Mr. Lincoln had been writing during the doctor's lament: but at the end of it he laid down his pen, raised his head, lifted his spectacles, and, with a look half quizzical, half contemptuous, replied, "Well, doctor, if I had to draw a pen across, and erase my whole life from existence, and I had one poor gift or choice left, as to what I should save from the wreck, I should choose that speech, and leave it to the world unerased."

Leonard Swett, than whom there was no more gifted man, nor a better judge of political affairs, in Illinois, is convinced that "the first ten lines of that speech defeated him." "The sentiment of the 'house divided against itself' seemed wholly inappropriate," says Mr. Swett. "It was a speech made at the commencement of a campaign, and apparently made for the campaign. Viewing it in this light alone, nothing could have been more unfortunate or inappropriate. It was saying first the wrong thing: yet he saw that it was an abstract truth, and standing by the speech would ultimately find him in the right place. I was inclined at the time to believe these words were hastily and inconsiderately uttered: but subsequent facts have convinced me they were deliberate and had been matured . . . In the summer of 1859, when he was dining with a party of his intimate friends at Bloomington, the subject of his Springfield speech was discussed. We all insisted that it was a great mistake: but he justified himself, and finally said, 'Well, gentlemen, you may think that speech was a mistake; but I never have believed it was, and you will see the day when you will consider it was the wisest thing I ever said.'"

John T. Stuart was a family connection of the Todds and Edwardses, and thus also of Lincoln. Mr. C. C. Brown married Mr. Stuart's daughter, and speaks of Mr. Lincoln as "our

of special success. His name fills the [illegible] and is not unknown even in foreign lands. I [illegible] for the high eminence he has reached. — [illegible] the oppressed of my species might have shared with [illegible] ation. I would rather stand on that eminence [illegible] richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's [illegible]"

Again, in the preceding campaign, Mr. [illegible] Lincoln is still at a disadvantage under [illegible] to which I will invite your attention. It is [illegible] the relative positions of the two persons who [illegible] the State as candidates for the Senate. [illegible] world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of [illegible] who had been of his party for years [illegible] upon him as certainly, at no distant day, [illegible] President of the United States. The [illegible] post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, [illegible] appointments, chargeships and foreign [illegible] sprouting out in wonderful exuberance [illegible] of by their greedy hands. [illegible] gazing upon this attractive picture so long [illegible] distraction that has been paid in [illegible] themselves to give up the [illegible] anxiety, they rush about him, sustain him [illegible] marches, complimentaries, and [illegible] even in the days of his highest prosperity [illegible] brought about in his favor. On the contrary, [illegible] ever expected me to be President. [illegible] nobody has ever seen that any candidacies were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, [illegible] Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and principle alone."

Now hear Mr. Douglas. In their first joint debate at Ottawa, he said, "In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got

[illegible] Hence [illegible] in 1854, just

or fame to make this abolition or Black Republican platform, in company with Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase, and Lyman Douglas, for the Republican party to stand upon. Trumbull, too, was one of our own contemporaries.

Previous pages of this book present full enough for our present purpose the issues upon which this canvass was made to turn. The principal speeches, at least dozens, with five separate and independent speeches by Mr. Lincoln, and three by Mr. Douglas, have been collected and published under Mr. Lincoln's supervision in a neat and accessible volume. It is, therefore, unnecessary, and would be unjust, to reprint them here. They obtained at the time a more extensive circulation than such productions usually have, and exerted an influence which is very surprising to the calm reader of the present day.

Mr. Douglas endeavored to prove, from Mr. Lincoln's Springfield speech, that he (Mr. Lincoln) was a self-declared Disunionist, in favor of overturning the institutions of all the States "to a dead uniformity," in favor of abolishing slavery everywhere, — an old-time abolitionist, a negrophilist, an amalgamationist. This, with much vaunting of himself for his opposition to Lecompton, and a loud proclamation of "popular sovereignty," made the bulk of Mr. Douglas's speeches.

Mr. Lincoln denied these accusations; he had no "thought of bringing about civil war," nor yet uniformity of institutions: he would not interfere with slavery where it had a lawful existence, and was not in favor of negro equality or miscegenation. He did, however, believe that Congress had the right to exclude slavery from the Territories, and ought to exercise it. As to Mr. Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty, there could be no issue concerning it: for everybody agreed that the people of a Territory might, when they formed a State constitution, adopt or exclude slavery as they pleased. But that a Territorial Legislature possessed exclusive power, or any power at all, over the subject, even Mr. Douglas could not assert, inasmuch as the Dred-Scott Decis-

Q. 6. — "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to the [illegible] Territories of the United States [illegible] Missouri Compromise line."

A. — I am impelled by it to say, I am not pledged [illegible] and *only* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories. [Great applause.]

Q. 7. — "I desire to know whether he is pledged to the prohibition of any new territory unless such prohibition [illegible]

A. — I am not generally [illegible] in case, I would [illegible] I might think such [illegible] [illegible] ourselves.

[illegible] friends, I will [illegible] questions and answers. [illegible] *pledged* to this, that, or the other [illegible] forest [illegible] with the [illegible] at all [illegible] any of the [illegible] have [illegible] things upon them.

As to the [illegible] and [illegible] Constitution of the United States [illegible] Congress [illegible] Slave States [illegible] would [illegible] general position [illegible]

[illegible] Slave State [illegible] exceedingly [illegible] question. [illegible] another Slave State [illegible] kept out [illegible] power [illegible] when [illegible] extinguishing as [illegible] presence of the [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

Mr. Douglas had presented his interrogat[illegible] on the 21st of August, and Mr. Lincoln did not answer [illegible] the 27th. They had no meetings between those [illegible] Mr. Lincoln had ample time to ponder his replies, and [illegible] his friends. But he did more: he improved [illegible] to prepare a series of insidious questions, [illegible] Mr. Douglas could not possibly answer [illegible] his political prospects. Mr. Lincoln [illegible] prize, unsuspected by the common [illegible] each was ever present to his own. Mr. D[illegible] leading candidate for the Presidency, but [illegible] very quiet one, nursing hopes which [illegible] from obtaining upon [illegible] keep the fact of their existence [illegible] to dig pitfalls and lay obstructions in the [illegible] formidable competitors. His present [illegible] Mr. Douglas for the Senate, [illegible] out of the way finally and [illegible] invade the Dred-Scott Decision [illegible] Southern man to take his [illegible] from the body of the Democracy [illegible] such circumstances, Mr. D[illegible] the party at large; but [illegible] purpose by running on a separate [illegible] majority of conservative votes, which [illegible] single nominee.

Mr. Lincoln went to Chicago, and [illegible] to some of his friends what he proposed to do. They [illegible] to dissuade him, because, as they [illegible] Mr. D[illegible] should answer that the Dred-Scott Decision might [illegible] by the people of a Territory, and slavery prohibited in [illegible] of it, the answer would draw to him the [illegible] the anti-slavery voters, and probably, of itself defeat Mr. Lincoln. But, so long as Mr. Douglas held to the Decision in good faith, he had no hope of more and from that quarter there he had

4. Are you in favor of acquiring territory by [illegible] disregard of how such acquisition may [illegible] the slavery question?

The first and fourth questions Mr. Douglas [illegible] startingly in the affirmative. [illegible] judge would ever be guilty [illegible] such a decision. But [illegible] which [illegible] answers, as he was expected [illegible] said he, "what was the Supreme [illegible] as to the slavery question whether [illegible] go into a Territory under the Constitution, and [illegible] the law in means to introduce it [illegible] for the reason that slavery [illegible] anywhere unless it is supported [illegible] Those police regulations can only [illegible] Legislature; and if the people are [illegible] wild elements [illegible] legislation effectually [illegible] their interests."

The reply was more [illegible] enough for Mr. Douglas's purpose. [illegible] Mr. Douglas set forth a state of perfect anarchy [illegible] He [illegible] power of Congress [illegible] under the Dred Scott Decision [illegible] as entirely [illegible] But as he [illegible] passed the boundary of a Territory [illegible] of the squatters, a [illegible] together in a legislature, and [illegible] the Constitution, the Supreme Court [illegible] Mr. Douglas himself said he had [illegible] Mr. Lincoln knew that the Southern people would feel [illegible] safer in the hands of Congress than in the hands of the squatters. If they regarded the Republican mode of [illegible] as a barefaced usurpation, they would consider Mr. Douglas's system of confiscation by "unfriendly legislation" [illegible] stealing. The Republicans said to them, "We will regulate

away from a place where it was [illegible] good, was such an absurdity as Mr. Do[illegible] d strad was equal to the proposition [illegible] a subsequent occasion, "no less than [illegible] fully be driven away from a place [illegible] to be."

"O, that answer at Freeport," Mr. [illegible] Douglas [illegible] "[illegible] of Lincoln's [illegible] pioneer [illegible]

The Supreme Court took [illegible] 1858. Mr. Lincoln [illegible] with Douglas [illegible] Dem[illegible] Dem[illegible] Republican [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Some [illegible] Mr. Lincoln [illegible]

In [illegible] Mr. Lincoln [illegible] his [illegible] few [illegible] found [illegible] it would have shown at least, that "Old [illegible] like [illegible] His [illegible] in these discussions [illegible] no surprise to the people of the Springfield [illegible] know him as well, or better than, they did Mr. [illegible] But

CHAPTER XVI.

IN [illegible] 1858–9, Mr. Lin[illegible] [illegible] appeared [illegible] [illegible] His [illegible] mi[illegible] and the [illegible] immoral [illegible] ation." The [illegible] application [illegible] prehensive [illegible] the [illegible] Parker [illegible] part of it [illegible] that [illegible] ered at [illegible] invitations. [illegible] lows: "Your [illegible] burgh, is received. [illegible] I [illegible] must stick to [illegible] to three different audiences during th[illegible] but I did so under circumstances [illegible] no time whatever."

From the Do[illegible] Republican party [illegible] foundation for [illegible] Mr. L[illegible] greatest and best men in the pa[illegible]

recently adopted in Massachusetts, and whether he favored the fusion of all the opposition elements in the next campaign. He replied, that, as to the restriction, he was always and unalterably opposed to them; and as to fusion, he was [illegible] for it upon "Republican grounds," but [illegible] no [illegible]. He would not lower "the Republican standard even [illegible] breadth." The letter undoubtedly had [illegible] good [illegible] and brought him valuable support from the foreign population.

To a gentleman who desired his views about the [illegible] tion, he replied cautiously and discretely as follows:—

[illegible]

DR. EDWARD WALLACE.

My dear Sir:—I am here just [illegible] Your [illegible] Hon. Speaker [illegible] Dr. William S. W[illegible] of yours [illegible] views, and suggest the propriety of my writing [illegible] I was an old Henry Clay Tariff Whig. In old times I made [illegible] on that subject [illegible] any other.

I have [illegible] views. I believe [illegible] moderate [illegible] be a proper subject of political strife [illegible] ties, it would be better for us. Still it is [illegible] revival of the question will not [illegible] *revives it.*

I have [illegible] thought much on the subject [illegible] sion is, that there is [illegible] opponents [illegible] more time and [illegible] Whig [illegible] beaten on the tariff question; and we shall not [illegible] policy and the [illegible] of it shall have [illegible] in the minds of men [illegible] opposed to it. We [illegible] prefer [illegible] better [illegible]

I thank you [illegible] consideration [illegible]

I shall be very glad to receive a letter from you [illegible]

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

In September Mr. Lincoln made a few masterly speeches in Ohio, where Mr. Douglas had preceded him on his new hobby of "squatter sovereignty," or "unfriendly legislation."

fix, what subject would you choose?" said Lincoln. "Why, a political one: that is certain," I answered. Mr. Herndon remembered a portion of one [illegible] as a lecture, and on this occasion, [illegible] of a subject. In the absence of a [illegible] Lincoln would as soon take the Bible for a subject [illegible] case, which he had analyzed so [illegible] in response to the invitation, which he would [illegible] in the coming Fall. [illegible] a political speech [illegible] one or more [illegible] He [illegible] agreed, that he might [illegible] satisfy he said, that no office [illegible] is the [illegible] put [illegible] paragraph [illegible] ing the last [illegible]

On the [illegible] It was Satur[illegible] retouching [illegible] speech, and [illegible] sights. We [illegible] to speak with [illegible] and shining [illegible] creases and wrinkles [illegible] and too long [illegible] clothes and a strange face. His [illegible] when the reporters [illegible] in advance of its deli[illegible] Mr. [illegible] excitement among the [illegible] fact, not quite sure that the press [illegible] speech. When he reached the Court [illegible] ushered into the vast hall, he was [illegible] most cultivated men of the city [illegible] immense audience assembled to hear [illegible] duced him as "an eminent citizen [illegible] known to you only by reputation." Mr. Lincoln [illegible]

[illegible] before them the question of prohibiting [illegible] Territories [illegible] of the "thirty-nine" who afterward [illegible] were in that Congress, and [illegible] that question. [illegible] Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted to [illegible] slavery [illegible] their land [illegible] authority [illegible] anything [illegible] to [illegible] slavery in Federal territory. The [illegible] McHenry voted against [illegible] showing [illegible] the [illegible] proper to [illegible].

In [illegible] still before the Convention, but while the Convention [illegible] session [illegible] it, and while the North-western Territory [illegible] Territory [illegible] to the United States — the [illegible] slavery in the Territory again came before the Congress [illegible] tion, and once more of the "thirty-nine" who were [illegible] tution were in that Congress, [illegible] on the question. [illegible] Washington, Blair, Wilson, Few and Abraham Baldwin [illegible] prohibition [illegible] showing that [illegible] under [illegible] from [illegible] Ordinance [illegible] ernment [illegible] to slavery [illegible] tion became a law, being [illegible] now and [illegible] of 1787.

The [illegible] of Federal [illegible] slavery in the [illegible] to have been [illegible] before the Convention which framed the [illegible] Constitution, and [illegible] that the [illegible] expressed any [illegible] question.

In [illegible] the First Congress which sat under the Constitution [illegible] was passed [illegible] the 13th [illegible] of 1787, [illegible] slavery in the North-western Territory. The bill for [illegible] was introduced by one of the "thirty-nine," namely, Thomas Fitzsimmons, [illegible] House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It was [illegible] without a word of opposition, and finally passed by [illegible] yeas and nays, which is equivalent to an unanimous passage. In [illegible] Congress there were sixteen of the "thirty-nine" fathers who [illegible] Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman, William S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thomas Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Paterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, James Madison.

This shows that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority nor any thing in the Constitution, properly forbad Congress to prohibit slavery in the Federal territory, else both their fidelity to correct principle, and their oath to support the Constitution, would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then Presi-

I would say to them, You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider, that, in the general qualities of reason and justice, you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to "Black Republicans." In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite — license, so to speak — among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all.

Now can you, or not, be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves?

Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section, — gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings us to where you ought to have started, — to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet it as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No? Then you really believe that the principle which our fathers, who framed the government under which we live, thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again upon their official oaths, is, in fact, so clearly wrong as to deserve your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohi-

[illegible] the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the [illegible] Government upon that subject up to and at the very moment [illegible] warrant, and about one year after he penned it he wrote [illegible] that prohibition a wise measure, expressing, in [illegible] his hope that we should some time have a confederacy [illegible] States.

Being thus informed, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon [illegible] that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in [illegible] Could Washington himself speak, would he cast [illegible] them upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, [illegible] We respect that warning of Washington; and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application [illegible]

[illegible] are conservative, — eminently conservative; while we [illegible] destructive, or something of the sort. What is conser- [illegible] is not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and [illegible] We stand to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in [illegible] which was adopted by our fathers who framed the government [illegible] while you, with one accord, reject and scout and spit [illegible] and insist upon substituting something new. True, [illegible] yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You [illegible] variety of new propositions and plans; but you are unani- [illegible] denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of [illegible] the foreign slave-trade; some for a Congressional Slave- [illegible] the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to [illegible] within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the [illegible] through the judiciary; some for the "gur-reat pur-rinciple" that, "[illegible] should enslave another, no third man should object," fantasti- [illegible] popular sovereignty;" but never a man among you in favor [illegible] prohibition of slavery in Federal Territories, according to the [illegible] fathers, who framed the government under which we live. [illegible] your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in [illegible] within which our Government originated. Consider, then, [illegible] your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of [illegible] against us, are based on the most clear and stable founda- [illegible]

Again, you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than [illegible] was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we [illegible] we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old [illegible] fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and [illegible] greater prominence of the question. Would you have that [illegible] to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would [illegible] of the old times, re-adopt the precepts and policy of the old [illegible]

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it. And what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable to not designate the man, and prove the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it, and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander.

Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's-Ferry affair, but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold to no doctrine, and make no declarations, which were not held to and made by our fathers, who framed the government under which we live. You never deal fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand; and you were in evident glee with the belief, that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came; and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew, that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with our fathers who framed the government under which we live, declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For any thing we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us in their hearing. In your political contest among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood, and thunder among the slaves.

Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton Insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which, at least, three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was got up by Black Republicanism. In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive slave insurrection, is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary free men, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

[illegible] Southern people about the affection of slaves for their [illegible] was, and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for [illegible] devised and communicated to twenty individuals [illegible] to save the life of a favorite master or mistress. [illegible] This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Hayti was [illegible] case occurring under peculiar circumstances. [illegible] of Black history, though not connected with the slaves, [illegible] In that case, only about twenty were admitted to the [illegible] of the [illegible] his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the [illegible] consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional [illegible] been, and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, [illegible] lies to a score or so, will continue to occur as the [illegible], but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, [illegible] country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much [illegible] event will be alike disappointed.

[illegible] Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in [illegible] the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably [illegible] as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their [illegible] filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, [illegible] human nature must shudder at the prospect held [illegible]

[illegible] mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipa- [illegible] the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the [illegible] I speak of the slaveholding States only.

[illegible] Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of re- [illegible] of the institution, — the power to insure that a slave [illegible] shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from [illegible]

[illegible] Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It [illegible] attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the [illegible] refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with [illegible] ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, [illegible] corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, [illegible] assassinate kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the [illegible] of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to [illegible] ... He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than in [illegible] Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's [illegible] Harper's Ferry, were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. [illegible] blame on old England in the one case, and on New [illegible] the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John [illegible] Helper's book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? [illegible] can be modified to some extent; but human nature cannot [illegible] There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this

nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling, that sentiment, by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but, if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box, into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your constitutional rights.

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing by the mere force of numbers to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and hold them there as property; but no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose then, plainly stated, is, that you will destroy the government, unless you be allowed to construe and enforce the Constitution as you please on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language to us. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the courts have decided the question for you in a sort of way. The courts have substantially said, it is your constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property.

When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided court by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact, — the statement in the opinion that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed in it. Bear in mind, the judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is distinctly and expressly affirmed there, — "distinctly," that is, not mingled with any thing else; "expressly," that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

[illegible] union that such right is affirmed [illegible] open to others to show that [illegible] be found in the Constitution, [illegible] with language alluding to [illegible] in that instrument the slave [illegible] whenever his master's legal right [illegible] "service or labor due," — [illegible] It would be open to show, by [illegible] and slavery, [illegible] to exclude from the [illegible] man.

[illegible] right to their notice [illegible] the mistaken state [illegible]

[illegible] who framed the gov[illegible] Constitution, — [illegible] with it [illegible] was made and [illegible] mistaken statement

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know because we know we never had any thing to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them? Simply this: We must not only let them alone, but we must, somehow, convince them that we do let them alone. This we know by experience is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural, and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery *wrong*, and join them in calling it *right*. And this must be done thoroughly, — done in *acts* as well as in *words*. Silence will not be tolerated: we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free-State Constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone, do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery." But we do let them alone, have never disturbed them; so that, after all, it is what we say which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not as yet, in terms, demanded the overthrow of our Free-State constitutions. Yet those constitutions declare the wrong of slavery with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary, that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right, and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it, as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground, save our conviction

[illegible] wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and consti- [illegible] are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept [illegible] It is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality, its univer- [illegible] if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension, its [illegible]. All they ask, we could readily grant, if we thought slavery [illegible] we ask, they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. [illegible] it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon [illegible] is the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they [illegible] blame for desiring its full recognition, as being right; but think- [illegible] wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with [illegible] against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political [illegible] can we do this?

[illegible] we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it [illegible] is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence [illegible] we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread [illegible] territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States?

If [illegible] duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly [illegible] Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances [illegible] so industriously plied and belabored, — contrivances such [illegible] middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as [illegible] for one who should be neither a living man nor a dead man, — [illegible] of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do [illegible] such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Dis- [illegible] ists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the [illegible] to repentance, — such as invocations to Washington, imploring [illegible] to say what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

[illegible] let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, [illegible] from it by threats of destruction to the Government, nor of [illegible] to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might; and in [illegible] us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.

The next morning "The Tribune" presented a report of [illegible] speech, but, in doing so, said, "the tones, the gestures, [illegible] kindling eye, and the mirth-provoking look defy the [illegible] skill. . . . No man ever before made such an im- [illegible] first appeal to a New York audience." "The [illegible] Post" said, "We have made room for Mr. Lin- [illegible] speech, notwithstanding the pressure of other mat- [illegible] and our readers will see that it was well worthy of the [illegible] attention with which it was heard." For the publica- [illegible] such arguments the editor was "tempted to wish"

that his columns "were indefinitely elastic." And these are but fair evidences of the general tone of the press.

Mr. Lincoln was much annoyed, after his return home, by the allegation that he had sold a "political speech," and had been generally governed by mercenary motives in his Eastern trip. Being asked to explain it, he answered as follows: —

SPRINGFIELD, April 6, 1860.

C. F. MCNEILL, ESQ.

Dear Sir, — Reaching home yesterday, I found yours of the 23d March, enclosing a slip from "The Middleport Press." It is not true that I ever charged any thing for a political speech in my life; but this much is true. Last October I was requested by letter to deliver some sort of speech in Mr. Beecher's church in Brooklyn, — $200 being offered in the first letter. I wrote that I could do it in February, provided they would take a political speech if I could find time to get up no other. They agreed: and subsequently I informed them the speech would have to be a political one. When I reached New York, I, for the first, learned that the place was changed to "Cooper Institute." I made the speech, and left for New Hampshire, where I have a son at school, neither asking for pay nor having any offered me. Three days after, a check for $200 was sent to me at N.H.; and I took it, *and did not know it was wrong*. My understanding now is, though I knew nothing of it at the time, that they did charge for admittance at the Cooper Institute, and that they took in more than twice $200.

I have made this explanation to you as a friend; but I wish no explanation made to our enemies. What they want is a squabble and a fuss: and that they can have if we explain; and they cannot have it if we don't.

When I returned through New York from New England, I was told by the gentlemen who sent me the check, that a drunken vagabond in the club, having learned something about the $200, made the exhibition out of which "The Herald" manufactured the article quoted by "The Press" of your town.

My judgment is, and therefore my request is, that you give no denial, and no explanations.

Thanking you for your kind interest in the matter, I remain

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

From New York Mr. Lincoln travelled into New England, to visit his son Robert, who was a student at Harvard; but he was overwhelmed with invitations to address Republican meetings. In Connecticut he spoke at Hartford,

[illegible] New Haven, Meriden, and Bridgeport; in Rhode [illegible] Woonsocket; in New Hampshire, at Concord and [illegible]. Everywhere the people poured out in multi[illegible] the press lavished encomiums. Upon his speech [illegible] "The Mirror," a neutral paper, passed the [illegible] criticisms of his style of oratory, — criticisms [illegible] to the people of his own State: "He [illegible] hour and a half with great fairness, great ap[illegible], and with wonderful interest. He did not [illegible] South, the administration, or the Democrats, or [illegible] any personalities, with the exception of a few [illegible] Douglas's notions. He is far from prepossessing in [illegible] appearance, and his voice is disagreeable; and yet [illegible] your attention and good-will from the start. . . . He indulges in no flowers of rhetoric, no eloquent passages. He is not a wit, a humorist, or a clown; yet so great a vein of pleasantry and good-nature pervades what he says, gilding [illegible] a deep current of practical argument, he keeps his [illegible] in a smiling mood, with their mouths open ready to swallow all he says. His sense of the ludicrous is very keen; and an exhibition of that is the clincher of all his arguments, — not the ludicrous acts of persons, but ludicrous ideas. Hence he is never offensive, and steals away willingly into his train of belief persons who were opposed to him. For the first half-hour his opponents would agree with every word he uttered; and from that point he began to lead them off little by little, until it seemed as if he had got them all into his [illegible]. He displays more shrewdness, more knowledge of the [illegible] of mankind, than any public speaker we have heard [illegible] Long Jim Wilson left for California."

On the morning after the Norwich speech, Mr. Lincoln was [illegible], or is said to have been met, in the cars by a preacher, [illegible] Gulliver, — a name suggestive of fictions. Gulliver says [illegible] told Mr. Lincoln that he thought his speech "the most [illegible] one he ever heard." Lincoln doubted his sin[illegible]; but Gulliver persisted. "Indeed, sir," said he, "I [illegible] more of the art of public speaking last evening than

I could from a whole course of lectures on rhetoric." Lincoln found he had in hand a clerical sycophant, and a little politician at that, — a class of beings whom he most heartily despised. Whereupon he began to quiz the fellow, and told him for a most "remarkable circumstance," that the professors of Yale College were running all around after him, taking notes of his speeches, and lecturing about him to the classes. "Now," continued he, "I should like very much to know what it was in my speech which you thought so remarkable, and which interested my friend the professor so much?" Gulliver was equal to the occasion, and answered with an opinion which Mr. Bunsby might have delivered, and died, leaving to the world a reputation perfected by that single saying. "The clearness of your statements," said Gulliver, "the unanswerable style of your reasoning, and especially your illustrations, which were romance and pathos, and fun and logic, all welded together." Gulliver closed the interview with the cant peculiar to his kind. "Mr. Lincoln," said he, "may I say one thing to you before we separate?" — "Certainly; any thing you please," replied the good-natured old Abe. "You have just spoken," preached Gulliver, "of the tendency of political life in Washington to debase the moral convictions of our representatives there by the admixture of mere political expediency. You have become, by the controversy with Mr. Douglas, one of our leaders in this great struggle with slavery, which is undoubtedly the struggle of the nation and the age. What I would like to say is this, and I say it with a full heart: Be true to your principles; *and we will be true to you, and God will be true to us all.*" To which modest, pious, and original observation, Mr. Lincoln responded, "I say Amen to that! Amen to that!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

It was on May 9 and 10 that the Republican State Convention of Illinois met at Decatur. Mr. Lincoln was there, and is said to have been there as a mere "spectator." He took no special interest in the proceedings, and appears to have had no idea that any business relating to him was to be transacted that day. It was a very large and spirited body, comprising an immense number of delegates, among whom were the most brilliant, as well as the shrewdest men of the party. It was evident that something of more than ordinary importance was expected to transpire. A few moments after the convention organized, "Old Abe" was seen squatting, or sitting on his heels, just within the door of the Wigwam. Gov. Oglesby rose and said amid increasing silence, "I am informed that a distinguished citizen of Illinois, and one whom Illinois will ever delight to honor, is present; and I wish to move that this body invite him to a seat on the stand." Here the governor paused, as if to tease and dally, and work curiosity up to the highest point; but at length he shouted the magic name "*Abraham Lincoln!*" Not a shout, but a roar of applause, long and deep, shook every board and post of the Wigwam. The motion was seconded and passed. A rush was made for the hero that sat on his heels. He was seized, and jerked to his feet. An effort was made to "pass him through the crowd" to his place of honor on the stand; but the crowd was too dense, and it failed. Then he was "hoisted," — lifted up bodily, — and lay for a few seconds sprawling and kicking upon the heads and shoulders of

UNCLE JOHN HANKS.

the great throng. In this manner he was gradually pushed toward the stand, and finally reached it, doubtless to his great relief, "in the arms of some half-dozen gentlemen," who set him down in full view of his clamorous admirers. "The cheering was like the roar of the sea. Hats were thrown up by the Chicago delegation, as if hats were no longer useful." Mr. Lincoln rose, bowed, smiled, blushed, and thanked the assembly as well as he could in the midst of such a tumult. A gentleman who saw it all says, "I then thought him one of the most diffident and worst-plagued men I ever saw."

At another stage of the proceedings, Gov. Oglesby rose again with another provoking and mysterious speech. "There was," he said, "an old Democrat outside who had something he wished to present to this Convention." — "Receive it!" "Receive it!" cried some. "What is it?" "What is it?" screamed some of the lower Egyptians, who had an idea the old Democrat might want to blow them up with an infernal machine. But the party for Oglesby and the old Democrat was the stronger, and carried the vote with a tremendous hurrah. The door of the Wigwam opened; and a fine, robust old fellow, with an open countenance and bronzed cheeks, marched into the midst of the assemblage, bearing on his shoulder "two small triangular heart rails," surmounted by a banner with this inscription: —

TWO RAILS,

FROM A LOT MADE BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND JOHN HANKS, IN THE SANGAMON BOTTOM, IN THE YEAR 1830.

The hardy bearer was old John Hanks himself, enjoying the great field-day of his life. He was met with wild and tumultuous cheers, prolonged through several minutes; and it was observed that the Chicago and Central-Illinois men put up the loudest and longest. The whole scene was for a time simply tempestuous and bewildering. But it ended at last: and now the whole body, those in the secret and those out of it, clamored like men beside themselves for a speech from Mr.

[illegible] time "blushed, but seemed to shake [illegible] In response to the repeated appeals [illegible]

[illegible] I suppose you want to know something [illegible] (pointing to old John and the rails). [illegible] John Hanks and I did make rails in the [illegible] I don't know whether we made those [illegible] I don't think they are a credit to the [illegible] as he spoke) "But I do know this: I [illegible] I think I could make better ones than [illegible]

[illegible] Egyptians began to open their [illegible] though now the admirable Presiden- [illegible] in view. The result of it all was [illegible] that "Abraham Lincoln *is the first* [illegible] *party of Illinois for the Presidency.* [illegible] *to the Chicago Convention to use* [illegible] *his nomination, and to cast the vote* [illegible] *him.*"

[illegible] delegates and private citizens, who [illegible] was estimated at five thousand. [illegible] enthusiasm was a pleasant sight [illegible] Democrats. They disliked to [illegible] Old [illegible] "the rail-splitter." [illegible] These cries and an emi- [illegible] on the cars, an [illegible] great principles of [illegible] demonstration in [illegible] Abe [illegible] swered Mr. Lincoln. [illegible] said the Democrat. [illegible] is fine is sch- [illegible] the old man. [illegible] him, "is, that [illegible]

[illegible] attractively [illegible] Eastern States. So early as

1858, Mr. Herndon had been to Boston partly, if not entirely, on this mission; and latterly Judge Davis, Leonard Swett, and others had visited Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Maryland in his behalf. Illinois was, of course, overwhelmingly and vociferously for him.

On the 16th of May, the Republican Convention assembled at Chicago. The city was literally crammed with delegates, alternates, "outside workers," and spectators. No nominating convention had ever before attracted such multitudes to the scene of its deliberations.

The first and second days were spent in securing a permanent organization, and the adoption of a platform. The latter set out by reciting the Declaration of Independence as to the equality of all men, not forgetting the usual quotation about the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The third resolution denounced disunion in any possible event; the fourth declared the right of each State to "order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively;" the fifth denounced the administration and its treatment of Kansas, as well as its general support of the supposed rights of the South under the Constitution; the sixth favored "economy;" the seventh denied the "new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States;" the eighth denied the "authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States;" the ninth called the African slave-trade a "burning shame;" the tenth denounced the governors of Kansas and Nebraska for vetoing certain antislavery bills; the eleventh favored the admission of Kansas; the twelfth was a high-tariff manifesto, and a general stump speech to the mechanics; the thirteenth lauded the Homestead policy; the fourteenth opposed any Federal or State legislation "by which the rights of citizenship, hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands, shall be abridged or impaired," with some pretty words, intended as a further bid for the foreign vote; the fifteenth declared for

[illegible] improvements," and the sixteenth for a [illegible] R[illegible]." It was a very comprehensive "platform;" [illegible] for whom planks were provided should be [illegible] to stand upon them, there could be no failure in [illegible].

[illegible] the third day the balloting for a candidate was to [illegible]. [illegible] the evening of the second day, Mr. Seward's [illegible] were for the best. It was certain that he would [illegible] largest vote on the first ballot: and outside of the [illegible] "crowd" for him was more numerous and [illegible] than for any other, except Mr. Lincoln. For Mr. [illegible], however, the "pressure" from the multitude, in the [illegible] the streets, and in the hotels, was tremendous. [illegible] accounted for by the fact that the "spot" [illegible] State Illinois. Besides the vast num- [illegible] there voluntarily to urge his claims, and to [illegible] the exigency demanded, his adherents had [illegible] "crammed up" their forces in the city and [illegible] were now able to make infinitely more noise [illegible] other parties put together. There was a large [illegible] for Mr. Seward, headed by Tom [illegible]. These, and others like them, filled the [illegible] the evening of the second day in expecta- [illegible] which would begin. The Lincoln party found [illegible] need to call a check to that game. They [illegible] night in mustering and organizing their [illegible] from far and near, and at daylight the next [illegible] "[illegible]" of the Wigwam, filling every avail- [illegible] that they had no business to fill. As [illegible] Seward men were unable to get in, and were [illegible] with enthusiasm.

Mr. [illegible] seems to be very sure all along, that the con- [illegible] would be between him and Mr. Seward. The [illegible] were supposed to be conservative, that is, [illegible] and the object of the move in favor of Mr. [illegible] the tactical one of the party, and save [illegible] "Lincoln men" who might otherwise be

against it. But a Seward man had telegraphed to St. Louis, to the friends of Mr. Bates, to say that Lincoln was as bad as Seward, and to urge them to go for Mr. Seward in case their own favorite should fail. The despatch was protected in "The Missouri Democrat," but was not brought to Mr. Lincoln's attention until the meeting of the Convention. He immediately caught up the paper and "wrote on its broad margin," "Lincoln agrees with Seward in his irrepressible-conflict idea, and in negro equality; but he is opposed to Seward's Higher Law." With this he immediately despatched a friend to Chicago, who handed it to Judge Davis or Judge Logan.

Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania was nominally a candidate; but, in the language of Col. McClure, "it meant nothing;" it was a mere sham, got up to enable Cameron to make a bargain with some real candidate, and thus secure for himself and his friends the lion's share of the spoils in the event of a victory at the polls. The genuine sentiment of the Pennsylvania delegation was divided between Judge Bates and Judge McLean. But Cameron was in a fine position to trade, and his friends were anxious for business. On the evening of the second day, these gentlemen were gratified. A deputation of them — Casey, Sanderson, Reeder, and perhaps others — were invited to the Lincoln Head-quarters at the Tremont House, where they were met by Messrs. Davis, Swett, Logan, and Dole, on the part of Mr. Lincoln. An agreement was there made, that, if the Cameron men would go for Lincoln, and he should be nominated and elected, Cameron should have a seat in his Cabinet, *provided* the Pennsylvania delegation could be got to recommend him. The bargain was fulfilled, but not without difficulty. Cameron's strength was more apparent than real. There was, however, "a certain class of the delegates under his immediate influence;" and these, with the aid of Mr. Wilmot and his friends, who were honestly for Lincoln, managed to carry the delegation by a very small majority, — "about six."

About the same time a similar bargain was made with the friends of Caleb B. Smith of Indiana; and with these two

[illegible]

graph, with nervous anxiety. Mr. Baker, who had taken "The Missouri Democrat" to Chicago with Mr. Lincoln's pregnant indorsement upon it, returned on the night of the 18th. Early in the morning, he and Mr. Lincoln went to the bill-alley to play at "fives"; but the alley was pre-engaged. They went to an "excellent and neat beer saloon" to play a game of billiards; but the table was occupied. In this strait they contented themselves with a glass of beer, and repaired to "The Journal" office for news.

C. P. Brown says that Lincoln played billiards great deal that day, notwithstanding the disappointment which he went with Baker; and Mr. Zane informs us that he was engaged in the same way the greater part of the day previous. It is probable that he took this physical mode of working off or keeping down the unnatural excitement that threatened to possess him.

About nine o'clock in the morning, Mr. Lincoln came to the office of Lincoln & Herndon. Mr. Zane was then conversing with a student. "Well, boys," said Mr. Lincoln, "what do you know?" — "Mr. Rosette," answered Zane, "who came from Chicago this morning, thinks your chances for the nomination are good." Mr. Lincoln wished to know what Mr. Rosette's opinion was founded upon; and, while Zane was explaining, Mr. Baker entered with a telegram, "which said the names of the candidates for nomination had been announced," and that Mr. Lincoln's had been received with more applause than any other. Mr. Lincoln lay down on a sofa to rest. Soon after, Mr. Brown entered; and Mr. Lincoln said to him, "Well, Brown, do you know any thing?" Brown did not know much; and so Mr. Lincoln, secretly nervous and impatient, rose and exclaimed, "Let's go to the telegraph-office." After waiting some time at the office, the result of the first ballot came over the wire. It was apparent to all present that Mr. Lincoln thought it very favorable. He believed that if Mr. Seward failed to get the nomination, or to "come very near it," on the first ballot, he would fail

and invited into his house everybody that could [illegible] To this the immense crowd responded that they would [illegible] in a larger house the next year, and in the meantime [illegible] one he had until after midnight.

On the following day the Committee [illegible] with Mr. Ashmun, the president, [illegible] at Springfield to notify Mr. Lincoln of his nomination. [illegible] contrary to what might have been [illegible] dejected. The reaction from excessive [illegible] ney — a process peculiar to an constant [illegible] set in. To the formal address of the Committee, he responded with admirable taste and feeling: —

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: [illegible] to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention [illegible] people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the honor [illegible] me, which you now formally announce. Deeply sensible [illegible] of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this [illegible] responsibility which I cannot aim wisely but to assume [illegible] more eminent men and experienced statesmen who [illegible] were before the Convention. I shall [illegible] the resolutions of the Convention, be eminently the platform [illegible] cessary and unreasonable delay, respond to-day. Mr. Chairman [illegible], not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted. And now I will not longer detain [illegible] of taking you, and each of you, by the hand."

The Committee handed him a letter containing the official notice, accompanied by the resolutions of the Convention, and to this he replied on the 23d as follows: —

Springfield, Ill., May 23, 1860.

Hon. George Ashmun, President of the Republican National Convention.

Sir: — I accept the nomination tendered in the letter of the Convention over which you presided, and of which I am formally apprised by the letter of yourself and others, acting as a Committee of the Convention for that purpose.

The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my [illegible] to abide by and carry out in spirit the platform so far as I can regard it in any part.

"Spirited on the questions of constitutional law," — an opinion supposed to be of little value, since those who gave it were that moment in the very act of repudiating the decision the Court had ever rendered. The minority report was adopted after a protracted and acrimonious debate, by a vote of one hundred and sixty-five to one hundred and forty-eight. Thereupon the Southern delegates, most of them under instructions from their State conventions, withdrew, and organized themselves into a separate convention. The remaining delegates, called "the rump" by their Democratic adversaries, proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, and voted fifty-seven times without effecting a nomination. Mr. Douglas, of course, received the highest number of votes; but, the old two-thirds rule being in force, he failed of a nomination. Mr. Guthrie of Kentucky was his principal competitor; but at one time and another Mr. Hunter of Virginia, Gen. Lane of Oregon, and Mr. Johnson of Tennessee, received flattering and creditable votes. After the fifty-seventh ballot, the Convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore on the 18th of June.

The seceders met in another hall, adopted the majority platform, as the adhering delegates had adopted the minority platform, and then adjourned to meet at Richmond on the second Monday in June. Faint hopes of accommodation were still entertained; and, when the seceders met at Richmond, they adjourned again to Baltimore, and the 28th of June.

The Douglas Convention, assuming to be the regular one, had invited the Southern States to fill up the vacant seats which belonged to them; but, when the new delegates appeared, they were met with the apprehension that their votes might not be perfectly secure for Mr. Douglas, and were therefore, in many instances, lawlessly excluded. This was the signal for another secession; the Border States withdrew; Mr. Butler and the Massachusetts delegation withdrew; Mr. Cushing deserted the chair, and took that of the rival Convention. The "regular" Convention, it was said, was now "the rump of a rump."

was now [illegible] that majority [illegible] wasting its power in the [illegible] struggles [illegible] which [illegible] Mr. Lincoln [illegible] for them there was nothing [illegible] for the great convulsion which [illegible] and prophets had predicted as the necessary consequence of such an event.

On the 6th of November, Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. He received 1,857,610 votes; Mr. Douglas had 1,291,574; Mr. Breckinridge, [illegible]; Mr. Bell, 646,124. Against Mr. Lincoln there was a majority of 930,170 of all the votes cast. On the electoral votes, Mr. Lincoln had 180; Mr. Breckinridge, 72; Mr. [illegible], 39; and Mr. Douglas, 12. It is more than likely that Mr. Lincoln owed this, his crowning triumph, to the [illegible] with which he conducted Mr. Douglas in the canvass of 1858, and drew out of him [illegible] "squatter sovereignty" and "popular sovereignty" in the Territories. But for Mr. Douglas's [illegible] opinions, it is not likely that Mr. Lincoln would have been President.

The election over, Mr. Lincoln was [illegible] office-seekers. Individuals, delegations, [illegible] all quarters, pressed upon him in a manner that would have killed a man of less robust constitution. The hotels of Springfield were filled with gentlemen with [illegible] baggage and heavy schemes. The "outs" had been in office; a "clean sweep" of the "ins" was expected, and all the "outs" were patriotically anxious to [illegible] places. It was a party that had never fed, and was now ravenously hungry. Mr. Lincoln and Artemus Ward saw a great [illegible] of fun in it; and in all human probability it was the fun alone that enabled Mr. Lincoln to bear it.

Judge Davis says that Mr. Lincoln had determined to appoint "Democrats and Republicans alike to office." Many things confirm this statement. Mr. Lincoln felt only the responsibility of his great trust, and he felt it too keenly

tressing. He [illegible] ions for [illegible] men. He would [illegible] would have been done with [illegible] great [illegible] services [illegible] grossly as [illegible] Mr. [illegible] the candidacy of Mr. Lincoln [illegible] in [illegible] He wavered [illegible] to keep the pledge of his [illegible]

In Cameron's case the [illegible] traced. At Chicago, Cameron [illegible] he stood last on the first [illegible] much; and the friends of Mr. [illegible] anxious as they were, declined [illegible] and say that he should be opposed [illegible] no more; and to secure this [illegible] the Pennsylvania delegation to [illegible] Mr. Cameron was disposed to exact the [illegible] pliance might be on the part of Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Cameron had more and formidable enemies [illegible] a man notorious for his [illegible] and corruption, and even [illegible] ambition to occupy exalted station [illegible] and hopelessly incompetent; that [illegible] himself as a candidate before the [illegible] but had more than once gotten high office [illegible] legislature by the worst means ever used by a [illegible] that it would be a disgrace, a shame, [illegible] to the country, if Mr. Lincoln should consent to [illegible] his Cabinet. On the other hand, Mr. Cameron [illegible] of devoted friends to deny these charges [illegible] his was as "white a soul" as [illegible] preferment; they came out to Springfield in [illegible] —Edgar Cowan, J. K. Moorehead, Alexander Cummings, Mr. Sanderson, Mr. Casey, and many others, besides Gen. Cameron

and the [illegible] be [illegible] public [illegible] hours with Mr. Lincoln [illegible] very [illegible] and [illegible] to appoint Cameron [illegible] tion [illegible] his purpose [illegible] four days he wrote [illegible] wrote [illegible] specifi[illegible] changes [illegible] Mr. Cameron [illegible] he would dismiss the [illegible] so for reasons I think [illegible] believe that affidavits [illegible] in it.

"Subsequently Cameron [illegible] possible, and he proposed to [illegible] Stevens wrote me of the [illegible] from the State administration [illegible] after Stevens wrote me [illegible] Cameron had deceived [illegible] enforce his own appointment [illegible] Lincoln; and that decided the [illegible]

[1] As this was one of the [illegible] science the reader might [illegible] convenient to report it [illegible] the language of the eyewitness [illegible] Mr. [illegible]

"I [illegible] of a mutual friend and he was very [illegible] *constitutional* [illegible] His [illegible] intemperate as he said he [illegible] letter, which was all in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting [illegible] from a duly treasured relic by [illegible]

"Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary [illegible]

Dear Sir.—I have this day commissioned Hon. J. Irvin M. Scott [illegible] Washington and you to be Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia.

[illegible]

"I am sure there is no material error in my quotation [illegible]

"Cameron's chief complaint was that he was [illegible] until Chase delivered the letter. We were [illegible] shall be not in political sympathy but our personal [illegible] been entirely collected, he would probably [illegible] President's attempt at personal degradation, seems to be [illegible]

peculiar to his step-mother. It was shared by very many of his neighbors at Springfield; and the friendly warnings he received were as numerous as they were silly and gratuitous. Every conceivable precaution was suggested. Some thought the cars might be thrown from the track: some thought he would be surrounded and stabbed in some great crowd; others thought he might be shot from a house-top as he rode up Pennsylvania Avenue on inauguration day; while others still were sure he would be quietly poisoned long before the 4th of March. One gentleman insisted that he ought, in common prudence, to take his cook with him from Springfield, — one from "among his own female friends."

Mingled with the thousands who came to see him were many of his old New-Salem and Petersburg friends and constituents; and among these was Hannah Armstrong, the wife of Jack and the mother of William. Hannah had been to see him once or twice before, and had thought there was something mysterious in his conduct. He never invited her to his house, or introduced her to his wife; and this circumstance led Hannah to suspect that "there was something wrong between him and her." On one occasion she attempted a sort of surreptitious entrance to his house by the kitchen door; but it ended very ludicrously, and poor Hannah was very much discouraged. On this occasion she made no effort to get upon an intimate footing with his family, but went straight to the State House, where he received the common run of strangers. He talked to her as he would have done in the days when he ran for the Legislature, and Jack was an "influential citizen." Hannah was perfectly charmed, and nearly beside herself with pride and pleasure. She, too, was filled with the dread of some fatal termination to all his glory. "Well," says she, "I talked to him some time, and was about to bid him good-by; had told him that it was the last time I should ever see him: something told me that I should never see him; they would kill him. He smiled, and said jokingly, 'Hannah, if they do kill me, I shall not die another death.' I then bade him good-by."

CHAPTER XIX.

IT was now but a few weeks until Mr. Lincoln was to become the constitutional ruler of one of the great nations of the earth, and to begin to expend appropriations, to wield armies, to apportion patronage, powers, offices, and honors, such as few sovereigns have ever had at command. The eyes of all mankind were bent upon him to see how he would solve a problem in statesmanship to which the philosophy of Burke and the magnanimity of Wellington might have been unequal. In the midst of a political canvass in his own State but a few years before, impressed with the gravity of the great issues which then loomed but just above the political horizon, he had been the first to announce, amid the objections and protestations of his friends and political associates, the great truth, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand;" that the perpetuity of the Union depended upon its becoming devoted either to the interests of freedom or slavery. And now, by a turn of fortune unparalleled in history, he had been chosen to preside over the interests of the nation; while, as yet unseen to him, the question that perplexed the founders of the government, which ever since had been a disturbing element in the national life, and had at last arrayed section against section, was destined to reach its final settlement through the fierce struggle of civil war. In many respects his situation was exceptionally trying. He was the first President of the United States elected by a strictly sectional vote. The party which elected him, and the parties which had been defeated, were inflamed by the heat of the canvass. The

former, with faith in their principles, and a natural eagerness for the prizes now within their reach, were not disposed to compromise their first success by any lowering of their standard or any concession to the beaten; while many of the latter saw in the success of the triumphant party an attack on their most cherished rights, and refused in consequence to abide by the result of the contest. To meet so grave an exigency, Mr. Lincoln had neither precedents nor experience to guide him, nor could he turn elsewhere for greater wisdom than he possessed. The leaders of the new party were as yet untried in the great responsibilities which had fallen upon him and them. There were men among them who had earned great reputation as leaders of an opposition; but their eloquence had been expended upon a single subject of national concern. They knew how to depict the wrongs of a subject race, and also how to set forth the baleful effects of an institution like slavery on national character. But was it certain that they were equally able to govern with wisdom and prudence the mighty people whose affairs were now given to their keeping?

Until the day of his overthrow at Chicago, Mr. Seward had been the recognized chief of the party; had, like Mr. Lincoln, taught the existence of an irrepressible conflict between the North and the South, and had also inculcated the idea of a law higher than the Constitution, which was of more binding force than any human enactment, until many of his followers had come to regard the Constitution with little respect. It was this Constitution which Mr. Lincoln, having sworn to preserve, protect, and defend, was to attempt to administer to the satisfaction of the minority which had elected him, and which was alone expected to support him. To moderate the passions of his own partisans, to conciliate his opponents in the North, and divide and weaken his enemies in the South, was a task which no mere politician was likely to perform, yet one which none but the most expert of politicians and wisest of statesmen was fitted to undertake. It required moral as well as intellectual qualities of the highest order. William of Orange, with a like duty and

[illegible] to give
[illegible] dictionary that
[illegible] Mr. Lincoln
[illegible] office. His
[illegible] his chief merit.
[illegible] ordinary man.
[illegible] — "Old Abe," a rail-
[illegible] They said he was good and
[illegible] but they took care not to pretend
[illegible] He was thoroughly convinced that there
[illegible] truth in this view of his character. He felt
[illegible] his lack of experience in the conduct of
[illegible] He spoke then and afterwards about the
[illegible] Presidency with much diffidence, and said, with
[illegible] Illinois, that they
[illegible] "great first [illegible] understood." He had
[illegible] ministerial or an executive officer. His most
[illegible] feared that he possessed no administrative
[illegible] on this opinion he seems to have shared himself, at
[illegible] and more melancholy moments.

[illegible] house in order, arranged all his private busi-
[illegible] over his interest in the practice of Lincoln & Hern-
[illegible] Mr. Herndon, and requested "Billy," as a last favor,
[illegible] his name on the old sign for four years at least, Mr.
[illegible] was ready for the final departure from home and all
[illegible] things. And this period of transition from private
[illegible] life — a period of waiting and preparing for the
[illegible] responsibilities that were to bow down his shoulders
[illegible] the years to come — affords us a favorable opportunity
[illegible] back and look at him again as his neighbors saw him
[illegible] 1857 to 1861.

Mr. Lincoln was about six feet four inches high, — the
[illegible] of his legs being out of all proportion to that of
[illegible] body. When he sat down on a chair, he seemed no
[illegible] than an average man, measuring from the chair to the
[illegible] of his head; but his knees rose high in front, and a
[illegible] placed on the cap of one of them would roll down

a steep descent to the hip. He we[illegible] ut a hundred and eighty pounds; but he was thi[illegible] e breast, narrow across the shoulders, and had t[illegible] ppearance of a consumptive subject. Standing [illegible] tooped slightl[illegible] forward; sitting down, he usually cr[illegible] his long legs, or threw them over the arms of the chair, as the most convenient mode of disposing of them. His "head was long, and tall from the base of the brain and the eyebrow;" his forehead high and narrow, but inclining backward as it rose. The diameter of his head from ear to ear was six and a half inches, and from front to back eight inches. The size of his hat was seven and an eighth. His ears were large, standing out almost at right-angles from his head; his cheek-bones high and prominent; his eyebrows heavy, and jutting forward over small, sunken blue eyes; his nose long, large, and blunt, the tip of it rather ruddy, and slightly awry toward the right-hand side; his chin, projecting far and sharp, curved upward to meet a thick, material, lower lip, which hung downward; his cheeks were flabby, and the loose skin fell in wrinkles, or folds; there was a large mole on his right cheek, and an uncommonly prominent Adam's apple on his throat; his hair was dark brown in color, stiff, unkempt, and as yet showing little or no sign of advancing age or trouble; his complexion was very dark, his skin yellow, shrivelled, and "leathery." In short, to use the language of Mr Herndon, "he was a thin, tall, wiry, sinewy, grizzly, raw-boned man," "looking woe-struck." His countenance was haggard and careworn, exhibiting all the marks of deep and protracted suffering. Every feature of the man — the hollow eyes, with the dark rings beneath; the long, sallow, cadaverous face, intersected by those peculiar deep lines; his whole air; his walk; his long, silent reveries, broken at long intervals by sudden and startling exclamations, as if to confound an observer who might suspect the nature of his thoughts — showed he was a man of sorrows, — not sorrows of to-day or yesterday, but long-treasured and deep — bearing with him a continual sense of weariness and pain.

He was a plain, homely, sad, weary-looking man, to whom one's heart warmed involuntarily, because he seemed at once [illegible]able and kind.

On a winter's morning, this man could be seen wending his way to the market, with a basket on his arm, and a little boy by his side, whose small feet rattled and pattered over the frozen pavement, attempting to make up by the number of his short steps for the long strides of his father. The little fellow jerked at the bony hand which held his, and wondered and questioned, begged and grew petulant, in a vain effort to make his father talk to him. But the latter was [illegible] unconscious of the other's existence, and stalked on, [illegible] in his own reflections. He wore on such occasions a [illegible] gray shawl, rolled into a coil, and wrapped like a rope [illegible] his neck. The rest of his clothes were in keeping. [illegible] walk cunningly, — Indian-like, — but cautiously [illegible] His tread was even and strong. He was a [illegible] and this, with another peculiarity, made [illegible] irregular. He set his whole foot flat on the [illegible] at once, — not resting [illegible] the toes as the foot rose, nor upon the heel [illegible] wore his shoes out at the heel and the [illegible] at the middle of the sole; [illegible] and there was mani- [illegible] As he moved along thus [illegible] in his sharp [illegible] sympathy [illegible] the words of Mr. [illegible] however, [illegible] loud, [illegible] his [illegible] to [illegible] in [illegible] certi- [illegible] and

go about the labors of the day with all his might, displaying prodigious industry and capacity for continuous application, although he never was a fast worker. Sometimes it happened that he came without his breakfast; and then he would have in his hands a piece of cheese, or Bologna sausage, and a few crackers, bought by the way. At such times he did not speak to his partner or his friends, if any happened to be present: the tears were, perhaps, struggling into his eyes, while his pride was struggling to keep them back. Mr. Herndon knew the whole story at a glance: there was no speech between them; but neither wished the visitors to the office to witness the scene; and, therefore, Mr. Lincoln retired to the back office, while Mr. Herndon locked the front one, and walked away with the key in his pocket. In an hour or more the latter would return, and perhaps find Mr. Lincoln calm and collected; otherwise he went out again, and waited until he was so. Then the office was opened, and every thing went on as usual.

When Mr. Lincoln had a speech to write, which happened very often, he would put down each thought, as it struck him, on a small strip of paper, and, having accumulated a number of these, generally carried them in his hat or his pockets until he had the whole speech composed in this odd way, when he would sit down at his table, connect the fragments, and then write out the whole speech on consecutive sheets in a plain, legible handwriting.

His house was an ordinary two-story frame-building, with a stable and a yard: it was a bare, cheerless sort of a place. He planted no fruit or shade trees, no shrubbery or flowers. He did on one occasion set out a few rose-bushes in front of his house; but they speedily perished, or became unsightly for want of attention. Mrs. Wallace, Mrs. Lincoln's sister, undertook "to hide the nakedness" of the place by planting some flowers; but they soon withered and died. He cultivated a small garden for a single year, working in it himself; but it did not seem to prosper, and that enterprise also was abandoned. He had a horse and a cow: the one was fed and cur-

and, and the other fed and milked, by his own hand. When at home, he chopped and sawed all the wood that was used in his house. Late one night he returned home, after an absence of a week or so. His neighbor, Webber, was in bed; but, hearing an axe in use at that unusual hour, he rose to see what it meant. The moon was high; and by its light he looked down into Lincoln's yard, and there saw him in his shirt-sleeves "cutting wood to cook his supper with." Webber turned to his watch, and saw that it was one o'clock. Besides this house and lot, and a small sum of money, Mr. Lincoln had no property, except some wild land in Iowa, entered for him under warrants, received for his service in the Black Hawk War.

Mrs. Wallace thinks "Mr. Lincoln was a domestic man by nature." He was not fond of other people's children, but was extremely fond of his own: he was patient, indulgent, and generous with them to a fault. On Sundays he often took those that were large enough, and walked with them into the country, and, giving himself up entirely to them, rambled through the green fields or the cool woods, amusing and instructing them for a whole day at a time. His method of reading is thus quaintly described. "He would read, generally aloud (couldn't read otherwise), — would read with great warmth, all funny or humorous things; read Shakspeare that way. He was a sad man, an abstracted man. He would lean back, his head against the top of a rocking-chair; sit abstracted that way for minutes, — twenty, thirty minutes, — and all at once would burst out into a joke."

Mrs. Cal. Chapman, daughter of Dennis Hanks, and therefore a relative of Mr. Lincoln, made him a long visit previous to his marriage. "You ask me," says she, "how Mr. Lincoln conducted at home. I can say, and that truly, he was all that a husband, father, and neighbor should be, — kind and affectionate to his wife and child ('Bob' being the only one they had living with them), and very pleasant to all around him. Never did I hear him utter an unkind word. For instance: on one occasion he undertook to correct his child, and his wife was

MR. LINCOLN'S HOME IN SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

4 · 3

determined that he should not, and attempted to take it from him; but in this she failed. She then tried tongue-lashing, but met with the same fate; for Mr. Lincoln corrected his child as a father ought to do, in the face of his wife's anger, and that, too, without even changing his countenance or making any reply to his wife.

"His favorite way of reading, when at home, was lying down on the floor. I fancy I see him now, lying full-length in the hall of his old house reading. When not engaged reading law-books, he would read literary works, and was very fond of reading poetry, and often, when he would be, or appear to be, in deep study, commence and repeat aloud some piece that he had taken a fancy to, such as the one you already have in print, and 'The Burial of Sir John Moore,' and so on. He often told laughable jokes and stories when he thought we were looking gloomy."

Mr. Lincoln was not supremely happy in his domestic relations: the circumstances of his courtship and marriage alone made that impossible. His engagement to Miss Todd was one of the great misfortunes of his life and of hers. He realized the mistake too late; and when he was brought face to face with the lie he was about to enact, and the wrong he was about to do, both to himself and an innocent woman, he recoiled with horror and remorse. For weeks together, he was sick, deranged, and on the verge of suicide, — a heavy care to his friends, and a source of bitter mortification to the unfortunate lady, whose good fame depended, in a great part, upon his constancy. The wedding garments and the marriage feast were prepared, the very hour had come when the solemn ceremony was to be performed; and the groom failed to appear! He was no longer a free agent: he was restrained, carefully guarded, and soon after removed to a distant place, where the exciting causes of his disease would be less constant and active in their operation. He recovered slowly, and at length returned to Springfield. He spoke out his feelings frankly and truly to the one person most interested in them. But he had been, from the beginning, except in the case of

Ann Rutledge, singularly inconstant and unstable in his relations with the few refined and cultivated women who had been the objects of his attention. He loved Miss Rutledge passionately, and the next year importuned Miss Owens to be his wife. Failing in his suit, he wrote an unfeeling letter to her, apparently with no earthly object but to display inhumanity and make them both ridiculous. He courted Miss Todd, and at the moment of success fell in love with her relative, and, between the two, went crazy, and thought of ending all his woes with a razor or a pocket-knife. It is not impossible that the feelings of such a man might have undergone another and more sudden change. Perhaps they did. At all events, he was conscientious and honorable and just. There was but one way of repairing the injury he had done Miss Todd, and he adopted it. They were married; but they understood each other, and suffered the inevitable consequences, as other people do under similar circumstances. But such troubles seldom fail to find a tongue; and it is not strange, that, in this case, neighbors and friends, and ultimately the whole country, came to know the state of things in that house. Mr. Lincoln scarcely attempted to conceal it, but talked of it with little or no reserve to his wife's relatives, as well as his own friends. Yet the gentleness and patience with which he bore this affliction from day to day, and from year to year, was enough to move the shade of Socrates. It touched his acquaintances deeply, and they gave it the widest publicity. They made no pause to inquire, to investigate, and to apportion the blame between the parties, according to their deserts. Almost ever since Mr. Lincoln's death, a portion of the press has never tired of heaping brutal reproaches upon his wife and widow; whilst a certain class of his friends thought they were honoring his memory by multiplying outrages and indignities upon her, at the very moment when she was broken by want and sorrow, defamed, defenceless, in the hands of thieves, and at the mercy of spies. If ever a woman grievously expiated an offence not her own, this woman did. In the Herndon manuscripts, there is a mass of

particulars under this head; but Mr. Herndon sums them all up in a single sentence, in a letter to one of Mr. Lincoln's biographers: "All that I know ennobles both."

It would be very difficult to recite all the causes of Mr. Lincoln's melancholy disposition. That it was partly owing to physical causes there can be no doubt. Mr. Stuart says, that in some respects he was totally unlike other people, and was, in fact, a "mystery." Blue-pills were the medicinal remedy which he affected most. But whatever the history or the cause, — whether physical reasons, the absence of domestic concord, a series of painful recollections of his mother, of his father and master, of early sorrows, blows, and hardships, of Ann Rutledge and fruitless hopes, or all these combined, Mr. Lincoln was the saddest and gloomiest man of his time. "I do not think that he knew what happiness was for twenty years," says Mr. Herndon. "Terrible" is the word which all his friends use to describe him in the black mood. "It was terrible! It was terrible!" says one and another.

His mind was filled with gloomy forebodings and strong apprehensions of impending evil, mingled with extravagant visions of personal grandeur and power. His imagination painted a scene just beyond the veil of the immediate future, gilded with glory yet tarnished with blood. It was his "destiny," — splendid but dreadful, fascinating but terrible. His case bore little resemblance to those of religious enthusiasts like Bunyan, Cowper, and others. His was more like the delusion of the fatalist, conscious of his star. At all events, he never doubted for a moment but that he was formed for "some great or miserable end." He talked about it frequently and sometimes calmly. Mr. Herndon remembers many of these conversations in their office at Springfield, and in their rides around the circuit. Mr. Lincoln said the impression had grown in him "all his life;" but Mr. Herndon thinks it was about 1840 that it took the character of a "religious conviction." He had then suffered much, and, considering his opportunities, achieved great things. He was

[illegible] men, and a most brilliant career had [illegible] the prophetic enthusiasm of many [illegible] and stimulated, and feeling himself [illegible] stronger and stronger, in the estimation of the people," whose voice was more potent [illegible] W. [illegible] ambition painted the rainbow [illegible] day, while his morbid melancholy supplied [illegible] to overcast and obliterate it with the [illegible] of the tempest. To him it was fate, and [illegible] escape or defence. The presentiment never [illegible] was as clear, as perfect, as certain, as any [illegible] by the senses. He had now entertained it [illegible] as much a part of his nature as the consciousness of identity. All doubts had faded away, and he [illegible] humbly to a power which he could neither comprehend nor resist. He was to fall, — fall from a lofty place, [illegible] the performance of a great work. The star under which he was born was at once brilliant and malignant: the [illegible] was cast, fixed, irreversible; and he had no more power to alter or defeat it in the minutest particular than he [illegible] to reverse the law of gravitation.

After the election, he conceived that he would not "last" through his term of office, but had at length reached the point where the sacrifice would take place. All precautions against assassination he considered worse than useless. "If they want to kill me," said he, "there is nothing to prevent." He complained to Mr. Gillespie of the small body-guard which his counsellors had forced upon him, insisting that they were a useless encumbrance. When Mr. Gillespie urged the ease and impunity with which he might be killed, and the value of his life to the country, he said, "What is the use of putting up the *gap* when the fence is down all around?"

"It was just after my election in 1860," said Mr. Lincoln to his secretary, John Hay, "when the news had been coming in thick and fast all day, and there had been a great [illegible] boys!" so that I was well tired out, and went home to rest, throwing myself upon a lounge in my chamber.

Opposite to where I lay was a bureau with a swinging glass upon it; and, in looking in that glass, I saw myself reflected nearly at full length; but my face, I noticed, had two separate and distinct images, the tip of the nose of one being about three inches from the tip of the other. I was a little bothered, perhaps startled, and got up and looked in the glass; but the illusion vanished. On lying down again, I saw it a second time, — plainer, if possible, than before; and then I noticed that one of the faces was a little paler — say five shades — than the other. I got up, and the thing melted away; and I went off, and in the excitement of the hour forgot all about it, — nearly, but not quite, for the thing would once in a while come up, and give me a little pang, as though something uncomfortable had happened. When I went home, I told my wife about it: and a few days after I tried the experiment again, when, sure enough, the thing came back again; but I never succeeded in bringing the ghost back after that, though I once tried very industriously to show it to my wife, who was worried about it somewhat. She thought it was 'a sign' that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the last term."

In this morbid and dreamy state of mind, Mr. Lincoln passed the greater part of his life. But his "sadness, despair, gloom," Mr. Herndon says, "were not of the kind that leads a badly-balanced mind into misanthropy and universal hate and scorn. His humor would assert itself from the hell of misanthropy: it would assert its independence every third hour or day or week. His abstractedness, his continuity of thought, his despair, made him, twice in his life, for two weeks at a time, walk that narrow line that divides sanity from insanity. . . . This peculiarity of his nature, his humor, his wit, kept him alive in his mind. . . . It was those good sides of his nature that made, to him, his life bearable. Mr. Lincoln was a weak man and a strong man by turns."

Some of Mr. Lincoln's literary tastes indicated strongly his prevailing gloominess of mind. He read Byron exten-

[illegible], especially "Childe Harold," "The Dream," and "Don Juan." Burns was one of his earliest favorites, although there is no evidence that he appreciated highly the best efforts of Burns. On the contrary, "Holy Willie's Prayer" was the only one of his poems which Mr. Lincoln took the trouble to memorize. He was fond of Shakspeare, especially "King Lear," and "The Merry Wives of Windsor." But whatever was suggestive of death, the grave, the sorrows of man's days on earth, charmed his disconsolate spirit, and captivated his sympathetic heart. Solemn-sounding rhymes, with no merit but the sad music of their numbers, were more enchanting to him than the loftiest songs of the masters. Of these were, "Why should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud?" and a pretty commonplace little piece, entitled "The Inquiry." One verse of Holmes's "Last Leaf" he thought was "inexpressibly touching." This verse we give the reader: —

> "The mossy marbles rest
> On the lips that he has pressed
> In their bloom;
> And the names he loved to hear
> Have been carved for many a year
> On the tomb."

[illegible] frequently said that he lived by his humor, and [illegible] without it. His manner of telling a story [illegible] the fun of it dancing in his eyes and [illegible] his face. His face changed in an instant: [illegible] of it, and the mirth seemed to diffuse [illegible] a spontaneous tickle. You could see [illegible] opened his mouth, and he began to [illegible] his eager auditors could catch the [illegible] Feeling and [illegible] ridiculous stories [illegible] He [illegible] a long way out [illegible] broad story, or to [illegible] medium that was not particularly re- [illegible] delicacy. If he happened to hear of a man [illegible] to have something fresh in this line, he

would hunt him up, and "swap jokes" with him. Nobody remembers the time when his fund of anecdotes was not apparently inexhaustible. It was so in Indiana; it was so in New Salem, in the Black-Hawk War, in the Legislature, in Congress, on the circuit, on the stump, — everywhere. The most trifling incident "reminded" him of a story, and that story reminded him of another, until everybody marvelled "that one small head could carry all he knew." The "good things" he said were repeated at second-hand, all over the counties through which he chanced to travel; and many, of a questionable flavor, were attributed to him, not because they were his in fact, but because they were like his. Judges, lawyers, jurors, and suitors carried home with them select budgets of his stories, to be retailed to itching ears as "Old Abe's last." When the court adjourned from village to village, the taverns and the groceries left behind were filled with the sorry echoes of his "best." He generally located his little narratives with great precision, — in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois; and if he was not personally "knowing" to the facts himself, he was intimately acquainted with a gentleman who was.

Mr. Lincoln used his stories variously, — to illustrate or convey an argument; to make his opinions clear to another, or conceal them altogether; to cut off a disagreeable conversation, or to end an unprofitable discussion; to cheer his own heart, or simply to amuse his friends. But most frequently he had a practical object in view, and employed them simply "as labor-saving contrivances."

It was Judge Davis's opinion, that Mr. Lincoln's hilarity was mainly simulated, and that "his stories and jokes were intended to whistle off sadness." "The groundwork of his social nature was sad," says Judge Scott; "but for the fact that he studiously cultivated the humorous, it would have been very sad indeed. His mirth to me always seemed to be put on, and did not properly belong there. Like a plant produced in the hot-bed, it had an unnatural and luxuriant growth."

Although Mr. Lincoln's walk among men was remarkably

pure, the same cannot be said of his conversation. He was endowed by nature with a keen sense of humor, and he found great delight in indulging it. But his humor was not of a delicate quality; it was chiefly exercised in hearing and telling stories of the grosser sort. In this tendency he was restrained by no presence and no occasion. It was his opinion that the finest wit and humor, the best jokes and anecdotes, emanated from the lower orders of the country people. It was from this source that he had acquired his peculiar tastes and his store of materials. The associations which began with the early days of Dennis Hanks continued through his life at New Salem and his career at the Illinois Bar, and did not desert him when, later in life, he arrived at the highest dignities.

Mr. Lincoln indulged in no sensual excesses: he ate moderately, and drank temperately when he drank at all. For many years he was an ardent agitator against the use of intoxicating beverages, and made speeches, far and near, in favor of total abstinence. Some of them were printed; and of one he was not a little proud. He abstained himself, not so much upon principle, as because of a total lack of appetite. He had no taste for spirituous liquors; and, when he took them, it was a punishment to him, not an indulgence. But he disliked sumptuary laws, and would not prescribe by statute what other men should eat or drink. When the temperance men ran to the Legislature to invoke the power of the State, his voice — the most eloquent among them — was silent. He did not oppose them, but quietly withdrew from the house, and left others to manage it. In 1854 he was induced to join the order called Sons of Temperance, but never attended a single meeting after one at which he was initiated.

Morbid, moody, meditative, thinking much of himself and the things pertaining to himself, regarding other men as instruments furnished to his hand for the accomplishment of views which he knew were important to him, and, therefore, considered important to the public. Mr. Lincoln was a man

apart from the rest of his kind, [illegible] neither a good nature nor a good [illegible] society of those who gave him pleasure [illegible] admired him, whose attachment [illegible] conversation amused him. He [illegible] companions of the coarsest mind [illegible] quaintances, [illegible] low, vulgar, [illegible] as Judge Davis has [illegible] things to satisfy him, to [illegible] for them, enjoy them, [illegible] vice they were capable of [illegible] them. If one of them, personally [illegible] him to Washington with [illegible] Lincoln would probably [illegible] doors, [illegible] through an [illegible] crony with [illegible] most [illegible] It was said that [illegible] had no heart [illegible] ments warm and [illegible] It was [illegible] not a rival [illegible] power. He [illegible] sincere, and [illegible] seems to [illegible] to share it in [illegible] No [illegible] "damn [illegible] by being the [illegible] ative to the [illegible] charming [illegible] simplicity and [illegible] concealed, and [illegible] but one. He [illegible] leader with [illegible] authority. He [illegible] could do what [illegible] desire of his heart [illegible] relations of life. Although some of [illegible] persons

[illegible] he had known what [illegible] To gain [illegible] he [illegible] office missed [illegible] His [illegible] it [illegible] and [illegible] ght social [illegible] He [illegible] devious, [illegible] movement [illegible] but it [illegible] and never [illegible] The great [illegible] red with him [illegible]

On the w[illegible] by means [illegible]

[illegible]

and instinctively drew with it. He [illegible] referred to [illegible] point of a Whig that [illegible] nal Jackson [illegible] he was compelled [illegible] so much of a Whig [illegible] for White in 1836, [illegible] not lead Harrison's [illegible] winter. He was a [illegible] in [illegible] "protective tariffs;" but when [illegible] lic letter, he declined [illegible] ground [illegible] good. He detested Know-Nothingism [illegible] when Know-Nothingism swept [illegible] from being obtrusive with his [illegible] belonged to the order. He was [illegible] beginning of his service in the [illegible] cautious and moderate in the [illegible] that, when the anti-Nebraska party [illegible] Republicans were anything but [illegible] even after the Bloomington Convention [illegible]

his tears of penitence. He was fond of music; but Dennis Hanks is clear to the point that it was songs of a very questionable character that cheered his lonely pilgrimage through the woods of Indiana. When he went to church at all, he went to mock, and came away to mimic. Indeed, it is more than probable that the sort of "religion" which prevailed among the associates of his boyhood impressed him with a very poor opinion of the value of the article. On the whole, he thought, perhaps, a person had better be without it.

When he came to New Salem, he consorted with free-thinkers, joined with them in derding the gospel history of Jesus, read Volney and Paine, and then wrote a deliberate and labored essay, wherein he reached conclusions similar to theirs. The essay was burnt, but he never denied or regretted its composition. On the contrary, he made it the subject of free and frequent conversations with his friends at Springfield, and stated, with much particularity and precision, the origin, arguments, and objects of the work.

It was not until after Mr. Lincoln's death, that his alleged orthodoxy became the principal topic of his eulogists: but since then the effort on the part of some political writers and speakers to impress the public mind erroneously seems to have been general and systematic. It is important that the question should be finally determined: and, in order to do so, the names of some of his nearest friends are given below, followed by clear and decisive statements, for which they are separately responsible. Some of them are gentlemen of distinction, and all of them men of high character, who enjoyed the best opportunities to form correct opinions.

James H. Matheny says in a letter to Mr. Herndon: —

"I knew Mr. Lincoln as early as 1834–7; know he was an infidel. He and W. D. Herndon used to talk infidelity in the clerk's office in this city, about the years 1837–40. Lincoln attacked the Bible and the New Testament on two grounds: first, from the inherent or apparent contradictions under its lids; second, from the grounds of reason. Sometimes he ridiculed the Bible and New Testament, sometimes seemed to scoff it, though I shall not use that word in its full and literal sense. I never heard that

William H. Herndon, Esq.: —

"As to Mr. Lincoln's religious views he was, in short, a theist. He did not believe that Jesus was God, nor the Son of God, — was a fatalist, denied the freedom of the will. Mr. Lincoln told me on several times, that he did not believe the Bible was the revelation of God, as the Christian world contends. The points that Mr. Lincoln tried to demonstrate (in his book) were: First, That the Bible was not God's revelation; and, Second, That Jesus was not the Son of God. *I assert this as a matter of knowledge, and on my veracity.* Judge Logan, John T. Stuart, James H. Matheny, and others, will tell you the truth. I say they will confirm what I say, with this exception, — they all make it blacker than I remember it. Joshua F. Speed of Louisville, I think, will tell you the same thing."

Hon. David Davis: —

"I do not know anything about Lincoln's religion, and do not think anybody knew. The idea that Lincoln talked to us range about his religion or religious views, or made such speeches or remarks, as Herndon says he published, is to me absurd. I knew the man so well; he was the most reticent, secretive man I ever saw, or expect to see. He had no faith in the Christian sense of the term, — had faith in laws, principles, causes, and effects, — philosophically; you [Herndon] knew more about his religion than any man. You ought to know it, of course."

William H. Hannah, Esq.: —

"Since 1856 Mr. Lincoln told me that he was a kind of fatalist; that he never could bring himself to believe in eternal punishment; that man lived but a little while here; and that, if eternal punishment were man's doom, he should spend that little life in vigilant and ceaseless preparation by never-ending prayer."

Mrs. Lincoln: —

"Mr. Lincoln had no hope and no faith in the usual acceptance of those words."

Dr. C. H. Ray: —

"I do not know how I can aid you. You [Herndon] knew Mr. Lincoln far better than I did, though I knew him well; and you have sketched up his leading characteristics in a way that I should despair of doing, if I should try. I have only one thing to ask, that you do not give Calvinistic theology a chance to claim him as one of its saints and martyrs. He went to the Old-School Church; but, in spite of that outward assent to the horrible dogmas

[illegible]

"I will [illegible] various religions [illegible] times during [illegible] religions [illegible] of ten years prior [illegible] writer [illegible] writings [illegible] Dr. W. E. Channing [illegible] interested [illegible] the [illegible] I made of the opinions [illegible] proposed to present him (Lincoln) a copy of Channing's [illegible] I soon after [illegible]. Subsequently, the contents [illegible] with the writings of Theodore Parker [illegible] by his friend and law-partner, Mr. Herndon, [illegible] conversation with us; and though far from [illegible] harmony of views on his part with either of those authors, [illegible] generally much admired and approved by him.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

I became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln in [illegible] well me well to the day of his death. He [illegible] Ky. [illegible] a certain [illegible] an unsound [illegible] and daring scepticism. In Indiana [illegible] qualities or attributes as in Ky. [illegible] along these lines in Indiana. He [illegible] little roving, scholarly [illegible] Mr. [illegible] nois. This village [illegible] here that Mr. Lincoln [illegible] never saw the [illegible] *and large* [illegible] a bold, daring, and [illegible] believed what [illegible] these men Mr. Lincoln [illegible] moved, and almost had [illegible] These scoffers were good [illegible] ogy — had protests against [illegible] of their [illegible] being [illegible] scepticism [illegible] thought [illegible] They [illegible] questions of Christianity [illegible] mon [illegible] and [illegible] divin[illegible] [illegible] fine[illegible] [illegible] set of people.

[illegible] About [illegible] some [illegible] assembled [illegible] Mr. Lincoln [illegible] [illegible] Some [illegible] [illegible] ter [illegible] [illegible] to Mr. Hill has [illegible] friend [illegible] publish [illegible] publishing [illegible] and wished [illegible] be published. Hill [illegible] to Lincoln's popularity, [illegible]

would sometimes [illegible], and sometimes would not, as I [illegible] — nay, know.

When Mr. Lincoln left this city for Washington [illegible] he gone no change [illegible] opinions or views. [illegible] the Christian ideas [illegible] that God would [illegible] tained that God [illegible] that Christianity [illegible] man [illegible] tended that [illegible] sin, and that [illegible] word. Mr. Lincoln was [illegible] tarian; [illegible] fully, freely [illegible] Mr. Lincoln was [illegible] some [illegible] letter of Mr. [illegible] Johnston, and [illegible] Johnston, that he [illegible] recovery were [illegible] Mr. Lincoln [illegible] words:—

[illegible] events, [illegible] and more [illegible] notes the [illegible] not to get [illegible] could meet [illegible] pleasant [illegible] meeting with [illegible] the help of God [illegible]

So it seems that Mr. [illegible] heaven — a place [illegible] world. It has [illegible] old man [illegible] not believe what [illegible] truthful [illegible] to me the sound [illegible] Lincoln [illegible] the [illegible] dwell [illegible] sible for what he [illegible] was his melancholy. I send [illegible] see what

the ears and mouths of many in this city, and, after all careful examination, I declare to your numerous readers, that Mr. Lincoln is correctly represented here, so far as I know what truth is, and how it should be spoken.

Very truly

W. H. HERNDON.

If ever there was a moment when Mr. Lincoln would have been expected to express his faith in the atonement, his trust in the merits of a living Redeemer, it was when he undertook to send a composing and comforting message to a bereaved woman. He knew, moreover, that his father had been "converted" time and again, and that no exhortation would so effectually console his weak spirit in the hour of dismay and desolation as one which depicted, in the strongest terms, the perfect sufficiency of Jesus to save the perishing soul. But he omitted it wholly: he did not even mention the name of Jesus, or intimate the most distant suspicion of the existence of a Christ. On the contrary, he is singularly careful to employ the word "*One*" to qualify the word "Maker." It is the Maker and not the Saviour, to whom he directs the attention of a sinner in the agony of death.

While it is very clear that Mr. Lincoln was at all times an infidel in the orthodox meaning of the term, it is also very clear that he was not at all times equally willing that everybody should know it. He never offered to purge or recant; but he was a wily politician, and did not disdain to regulate his religious manifestations with some reference to his political interests. As he grew older, he grew more cautious; and as his New Salem associates, and the aggressive deists with whom he originally united at Springfield, gradually dispersed, or fell away from his side, he appreciated more and more keenly the violence and extent of the religious prejudices which freedom in discussion from his standpoint would be sure to arouse against him. He saw the immense and augmenting power of the churches, and in times past had practically felt it. The imputation of infidelity had seriously injured him in several of his earlier political contests; and, sobered by age and experience, he was resolved

he based his political doctrines on the [illegible] of the Bible, yet before [illegible] Mr. Bateman [illegible] the part of [illegible] and repeat [illegible] he was "obliged to [illegible] them." [illegible] What compulsion? [illegible] that Christ was God, if he really believed [illegible] Or did he [illegible] political necessities above the obligations of truth, and oppose Christianity against his convictions, that he might [illegible] the favor of its enemies? It [illegible] was sometimes misunderstood; but he never made an express [illegible] of any religious opinion which [illegible] uncertain. He did not "appear different" at one time from what he was at another, and certainly he never put on infidelity as a mere mask to conceal his Christian character from the world. There is no dealing with Mr. Bateman, except on a flat contradiction. Perhaps his memory was treacherous, or his imagination led him astray, or, peradventure, though a fraud or a harmful it gratified the strong desire of the people for proofs of Mr. Lincoln's orthodoxy. It is nothing to the purpose that Mr. Lincoln said once or twice that he thought this or that portion of the Scripture was the product of divine inspiration; for he was one of the class who hold that all truth is inspired, and that every human being with a mind and a conscience is a prophet. He would have agreed much more readily with one who taught that Newton's discoveries, or Bacon's philosophy, or one of his own speeches, were the works of men divinely inspired above their fellows.[1] But he never told

[1] "As we have bodily senses to lay hold on matter, and supply bodily wants, through which we obtain naturally all needed material things, so we have spiritual faculties to lay hold on God and supply spiritual wants, through them we obtain all needed spiritual things. As we observe the conditions of the body, we have nature on our side; as we observe the law of the soul, we have God on our side. He imparts truth to all men who observe these conditions: we have direct access to him through reason, conscience, and our religious faculty, just as we have direct access to nature through the eye, the ear, or the hand. Through these channels, and by means of a law, certain, regular, and universal as gravitation, God inspires men, makes revelation of truth; for is not truth as much a phenomenon of God as motion of matter? Therefore, if God be omnipresent and omnipotent, his inspiration is no miracle, but a regular mode of God's action on conscious spirit, as gravitation on unconscious matter. It is not a rare condescension of God, but a universal ennobling of man. To obtain a knowledge of duty, a man is not sent away outside of himself to ancient documents, for the only rule of faith and practice, the Word, is very nigh him, even

The [illegible] Mr [illegible] Testament as [illegible] part of its [illegible] natural law. The [illegible] him, for the most [illegible] is confined by the [illegible] God. It [illegible] that he was greatly influenced by the [illegible] society. If he did not [illegible] it, [illegible] did: and no one [illegible] was of good reputation [illegible] a witness or an officer it [illegible] should take oaths: and he [illegible] God either by laying his [illegible] other form of invocation [illegible] the ceremony was superfluous [illegible] cation upon him; but his [illegible] fient to make him truth [illegible] sanction which faith in [illegible] [illegible]

Mr Lincoln was by [illegible] supernatural [illegible] Christianity as [illegible] was [illegible] He lived [illegible] [illegible]

PHILADELPHIA.

On the 14th of February, [illegible] Lincoln [illegible] from Springfield [illegible] It was intended to reach the [illegible] date and the 4th of March [illegible] State and city to [illegible] Senator Seward,' [illegible] cial trains to be provided [illegible]

It was a gloomy day [illegible] cold rain was falling. Long before eight [illegible] of people had collected at the station [illegible] Railway to witness the event of the day [illegible] minutes before eight, Mr. Lincoln, preceded by Mr. [illegible] emerged from a private room in the depot [illegible] passed slowly to the car, the people falling [illegible] fully on either side, and as many as possible [illegible] hands. Having finally reached the train, he [illegible] rear platform, and, facing about to the throng which had closed around him, drew himself up to his [illegible] removed his hat, and stood for several seconds in profound silence. His eye roved sadly over that sea of upturned faces; and he thought he read in them again the sympathy and friendship which he had often tried, and which he now needed more than he did the [illegible] There was an unusual [illegible] in his lip, and a still more unusual tear on his [illegible] cheek. His solemn manner, his long silence, were a [illegible] melancholy eloquence as any words he could have [illegible] What did he think of [illegible] the mighty changes which had

At [illegible] dinner [illegible] ered wi[illegible] same [illegible] being [illegible]

Among with Mr. Lin[illegible] Gov. Yates, Ex-Gov. M[illegible] brother-in-law), Mr. [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Ellsworth, Col. Lamon [illegible] Hay.

It has been asserted [illegible] the train off the rail [illegible] and also that a handgre[illegible] nati, but no evidence [illegible] none of the Presidential [illegible] doings until they reached [illegible] tive reports of their [illegible]

Full accounts of this [illegible] the country at the time, and [illegible] in various books. But, except for the [illegible] dent elect, those accounts possess no [illegible] this day; and of the speeches [illegible] such extracts as express his thoughts [illegible] impending civil war.

In the heat of the late canvass, [illegible] private letter: —

[illegible]

JOHN B. FRY, ESQ.

My dear Sir, — Yours of the [illegible] Botts, was duly received. The letter is here [illegible] request. It contains one of [illegible] that in no probable event will [illegible] to the Union. The people of the South [illegible] temper to attempt the ruin of the [illegible] tered as it was administered by [illegible] and believe.

I thank you both for your [illegible]

[illegible]

At [illegible] —

"Allusion has [illegible] of the new administrat[illegible] credit for having kept [illegible] I was right. In the sayin[illegible] *without a p[illegible]* fitting, that before [illegible] gained a view of the whole [illegible] to modify and change the [illegible] change necessary.

"I have no [illegible] *could say that there is no [illegible] is a [illegible] that's anybody. [illegible] nobody is suffering [illegible]*

At [illegible] —

"Notwithstanding the [illegible]

politicians, merchants, mechanics, laborers, and loafers were engaged in heated discussions about the anticipated war, and the probability of Northern troops being marched through Maryland to slaughter and pillage beyond the Potomac. It would seem like an easy thing to beguile a few individuals of this angry and excited multitude into the expression of some criminal desire; and the opportunity was not wholly lost, although the limited success of the detective under such favorable circumstances is absolutely wonderful. He put his "shadows" upon several persons, whom it suited his pleasure to suspect; and the "shadows" pursued their work with the keen zest and the cool treachery of their kind. They reported daily to their chief in writing, as he reported in turn to his employer. These documents are neither edifying nor useful: they prove nothing but the baseness of the vocation which gave them existence. They were furnished to Mr. Herndon in full, under the impression that partisan feeling had extinguished in him the love of truth, and the obligations of candor, as it had in many writers who preceded him on the same subject-matter. They have been carefully and thoroughly read, analyzed, examined, and compared, with an earnest and conscientious desire to discover the truth, if, perchance, any trace of truth might be in them. The process of investigation began with a strong bias in favor of the conclusion at which the detective had arrived. For ten years the author implicitly believed in the reality of the atrocious plot which these spies were supposed to have detected and thwarted; and for ten years he had pleased himself with the reflection that he also had done something to defeat the bloody purpose of the assassins. It was a conviction which could scarcely have been overthrown by evidence less powerful than the detective's weak and contradictory account of his own case. In that account there is literally nothing to sustain the accusation, and much to rebut it. It is perfectly manifest that there was no conspiracy, — no conspiracy of a hundred, of fifty, of twenty, of three; no definite purpose in the heart of even one man to murder Mr. Lincoln at Baltimore.

The reports are all in the form of personal narratives, and for the most relate when the spies went to bed, when they rose, where they ate, what saloons and brothels they visited, and what blackguards they met and "drinked" with. One of them "shadowed" a loud-mouthed, drinking fellow, named Luckett, and another a poor scapegrace and braggart, named Hilliard. These wretches "drinked" and talked a great deal, hung about bars, haunted disreputable houses, were constantly half-drunk, and easily excited to use big and threatening words by the faithless protestations and cunning management of the spies. Thus Hilliard was made to say that he thought a man who should act the part of Brutus in these times would deserve well of his country; and Luckett was induced to declare that he knew a man who would kill Lincoln. At length the great arch-conspirator — the Brutus, the Orsini, of the New World, to whom Luckett and Hilliard, the "national volunteers," and all such, were as mere puppets — condescended to reveal himself in the most obliging and confiding manner. He made no mystery of his cruel and desperate scheme. He did not guard it as a dangerous secret, or choose his confidants with the circumspection which political criminals, and especially assassins, have generally thought proper to observe. Very many persons knew what he was about, and levied on their friends for small sums — five, ten, and twenty dollars — to further the "captain's" plan. Even Luckett was deep enough in the awful plot to raise money for it; and when he took one of the spies to a public bar-room, and introduced him to the "captain," the latter sat down and talked it all over without the slightest reserve. When was there ever before such a loud-mouthed conspirator, such a trustful and innocent assassin! His name was Ferrandina, his occupation that of a barber, his place of business beneath Barnum's Hotel, where the sign of the bloodthirsty villain still invites the unsuspecting public to come in for a shave.

"Mr. Luckett," so the spy relates, "said that he was not going home this evening; and if I would meet him at Barr's saloon on South Street, he would introduce me to Ferrandina.

This was unexpected to me; but I determined to take the chances, and agreed to meet Mr. Luckett at the place named at 7, P.M. Mr. Luckett left about 2.30, P.M.; and I went to dinner.

"I was at the office in the afternoon in hopes that Mr. Felton might call, but he did not; and at [illegible], P.M., I went to supper. After supper, I went to Barr's saloon, and found Mr. Luckett and several other gentlemen there. He asked me to drink, and introduced me to Capt. Ferrandina and Capt. Turner. He eulogized me very highly as a neighbor of his, and told Ferrandina that I was the gentleman who had given the twenty-five dollars he (Luckett) had given to Ferrandina.

"The conversation at once got into politics; and Ferrandina, who is a fine-looking, intelligent-appearing person, became very excited. He shows the Italian in, I think, a very marked degree; and, although excited, yet was cooler than what I had believed was the general characteristic of Italians. He has lived South for many years, and is thoroughly imbued with the idea that the South must rule; that they (Southerners) have been outraged in their rights by the election of Lincoln, and freely justified resorting to any means to prevent Lincoln from taking his seat; and, as he spoke, his eyes fairly glared and glistened, and his whole frame quivered, but he was fully conscious of all he was doing. He is a man well calculated for controlling and directing the ardent-minded: he is an enthusiast, and believes, that, to use his own words, 'murder of any kind is justifiable and right to save the rights of the Southern people.' In all his views he was ably seconded by Capt. Turner.

"Capt. Turner is an American; but although very much of a gentleman, and possessing warm Southern feelings, he is not by any means so dangerous a man as Ferrandina, as his ability for exciting others is less powerful; but that he is a bold and proud man there is no doubt, as also that he is entirely under the control of Ferrandina. In fact, it could not be otherwise: for even I myself felt the influence of this man's strange power; and, wrong though I knew him to

[illegible] to keep my mind balanced against [illegible]

[illegible] No, never, shall Lincoln be President.' [illegible] consequence: he was will- [illegible]: he would sell it for that Aboli- [illegible] given his life for Italy, so was he [illegible] ready to die for his country, and the rights of [illegible] Ferrandina, turning to Capt. Turner, [illegible] together: we shall show the North that we [illegible] Every man, captain,' said he, 'will on that [illegible] a hero. The first shot fired, the main trai- [illegible] and all Maryland will be with us, and the [illegible] and the North must then be ours.' — 'Mr. [illegible] said Ferrandina, '*if I alone must do it, I shall: [illegible] in this city.*'

While [illegible] were thus talking, we (Mr. Luckett, Turner, Ferrandina, and myself) were alone in one corner of the bar-room, [illegible] talking, two strangers had got pretty near us. Mr. Luckett called Ferrandina's attention to this, and intimated that they were listening; and we went up to the bar, [illegible] again at my expense, and again retired to another part [illegible], at Ferrandina's request, to see if the strangers would again follow us: whether by accident or design, they [illegible] got near us; but of course we were not talking of any [illegible] of consequence. Ferrandina said he suspected they [illegible], and suggested that he had to attend a secret meeting, and was apprehensive that the two strangers might follow him; and, at Mr. Luckett's request, I remained with him [illegible] to watch the movements of the strangers. I [illegible] Ferrandina, that, if they would attempt to follow him, [illegible] would whip them.

Ferrandina and Turner left to attend the meeting; and, anxious as I was to follow them myself, I was obliged to remain with Mr. Luckett to watch the strangers, which we [illegible] for about fifteen minutes, when Mr. Luckett said that he should go to a friend's to stay over night, and I left for my hotel, arriving there at about 9, P.M., and soon retired."

It is in a secret communication between hireling spies and paid informers that these ferocious sentiments are attributed to the poor knight of the soap-pot. No disinterested person would believe the story upon such evidence; and it will appear hereafter, that even the detective felt that it was too weak to mention among his strong points at that decisive moment, when he revealed all he knew to the President and his friends. It is probably a mere fiction. If it had had any foundation in fact, we are inclined to believe that the sprightly and eloquent barber would have dangled at a rope's end long since. He would hardly have been left to shave and plot in peace, while the members of the Legislature, the police-marshal, and numerous private gentlemen, were locked up in Federal prisons. When Mr. Lincoln was actually slain, four years later, and the cupidity of the detectives was excited by enormous rewards, Ferrandina was totally unmolested. But even if Ferrandina really said all that is here imputed to him, he did no more than many others around him were doing at the same time. He drank and talked, and made swelling speeches; but he never took, nor seriously thought of taking, the first step toward the frightful tragedy he is said to have contemplated.

The detectives are cautious not to include in the supposed plot to murder any person of eminence, power, or influence. Their game is all of the smaller sort, and, as they conceived, easily taken, — witless vagabonds like Hilliard and Luckett, and a barber, whose calling indicates his character and associations. They had no fault to find with the governor of the State: he was rather a lively trimmer, to be sure, and very anxious to turn up at last on the winning side: but it was manifestly impossible that one in such exalted station could meditate murder. Yet, if they had pushed their inquiries with an honest desire to get at the truth, they might have found much stronger evidence against the governor than that which they pretend to have found against the barber. In the governor's case the evidence is documentary, written, authentic, — over his own hand, clear and conclusive as pen

[illegible] would make it. As early as the previous November, Gov. Hicks had written the following letter; and, notwithstanding its treasonable and murderous import, the writer became conspicuously loyal before spring, and lived to reap [illegible] rewards and high honors under the auspices of the Federal Government, as the most patriotic and devoted Union men in Maryland. The person to whom the letter was addressed was equally fortunate; and, instead of drawing out [illegible] in the field to "kill Lincoln and his men," he was sent to Congress by power exerted from Washington at a time when the administration selected the representatives of Maryland, and performed all his duties right loyally and acceptably. Shall one be taken, and another left? Shall Hicks go to the Senate, and Webster to Congress, while the poor barber is held to the silly words which he is alleged to have uttered out between drinks in a low groggery, under the [illegible] and encouragements of an eager spy, itching [illegible] reward?

STATE OF MARYLAND, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
ANNAPOLIS, Nov 9, 1860.

[illegible] H. WEBSTER

My [illegible] Sir.—I have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your favor [illegible] kindness to my acquaintance (though a Demo'). [illegible] say that we have, at this time, no arms on hand to distribute, but [illegible] the moment your company shall have arms: [illegible] on their part. We have some delay, [illegible] Georgia and Alabama, ahead of us: we [illegible] apply, and of first received your people [illegible] W[illegible] good men to send out to kill Lincoln and [illegible] arms would be better sent South.

H[illegible] with y[illegible]? 'Tis too bad. Harford, nothing to [illegible]

Your obedient servant,
THOS. H. HICKS.

[illegible] Presidential party was Hon. Norman B. Judd: [illegible] exercise unbounded influence over the [illegible] and with him, therefore, the detective opened [illegible] At various places along the route, Mr. Judd [illegible] hints of the impending danger, accompanied

NORMAN B. JUDD.

by the usual assurances of the skill and activity of the patriots who were perilling their lives in a rebel city to save that of the Chief Magistrate. When he reached New York, he was met by the woman who had originally gone with the other spies to Baltimore. She had urgent messages from her chief, — messages that disturbed Mr. Judd exceedingly. The detective was anxious to meet Mr. Judd and the President; and a meeting was accordingly arranged to take place at Philadelphia.

Mr. Lincoln reached Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 21st. The detective had arrived in the morning, and improved the interval to impress and enlist Mr. Felton. In the evening he got Mr. Judd and Mr. Felton into his room at the St. Louis Hotel, and told them all he had learned. He dwelt at large on the fierce temper of the Baltimore Secessionists; on the loose talk he had heard about "fire-balls or hand-grenades;" on a "privateer" said to be moored somewhere in the bay; on the organization called National Volunteers; on the fact, that, eaves-dropping at Barnum's Hotel, he had overheard Marshal Kane intimate that he would not supply a police-force on some undefined occasion, but what the occasion was he did not know. He made much of his miserable victim, Hilliard, whom he held up as a perfect type of the class from which danger was to be apprehended; but, concerning "Captain" Ferrandina and his threats, he said, according to his own account, not a single word. He had opened his case, his whole case, and stated it as strongly as he could. Mr. Judd was very much startled, and was sure that it would be extremely imprudent for Mr. Lincoln to pass through Baltimore in open daylight, according to the published programme. But he thought the detective ought to see the President himself; and, as it was wearing toward nine o'clock, there was no time to lose. It was agreed that the part taken by the detective and Mr. Felton should be kept secret from every one but the President. Mr. Sanford, President of the American Telegraph Company, had also been co-operating in the business; and the same stipulation was made with regard to him.

Mr. Judd went to his own room at the Continental, and the [illegible] to bed. The crowd in the hotel was very dense, and [illegible] time to get a message to Mr. Lincoln. But [illegible] him, and he responded in person. Mr. Judd [illegible] over; and the latter told his story over [illegible] conversation: this time he mentioned the [illegible] along with Hilliard's, but gave no more [illegible] one story to the other.

Mr. Judd said that he [illegible] wanted Lincoln to leave for Washington that night. This he flatly refused to do. He had engagements with the people, he said, — to raise a flag over Independence Hall in the morning, and to exhibit himself at Harrisburg in the afternoon; and these engagements [illegible] in any event. But he would raise the flag and go to Harrisburg, "get away quietly" in the evening, and permit himself to be carried to Washington in the way [illegible] thought best. Even this, however, he conceded with [illegible] reluctance. He [illegible] seemed to cross-examine the [illegible] parts of his narrative, but at no time did [illegible] alarmed. He was earnestly [illegible] not to communicate the change of plan to any member [illegible] except Mr. Judd nor permit even a suspicion [illegible] cross the mind of another. To this he replied, [illegible] would be compelled to tell Mrs. Lincoln; "and he thought [illegible] she would insist upon W. H. Lamon [illegible] with him; but, aside from that, no one should know."

[illegible] Mr. Seward had also discovered the con- [illegible] He [illegible] his son to Philadelphia to warn the [illegible] plot into whose meshes he was [illegible] Mr. Lincoln turned him over to Judd, and Judd [illegible] He went away with [illegible] his father to anticipate the [illegible] Mr. Lincoln's surreptitious arrival in Wash- [illegible]

[illegible] morning of the 22d, Mr. Lincoln raised the [illegible] Independence Hall, and departed for Harrisburg. [illegible] Mr. Judd gave him a full and precise detail of

the arrangements that had been made" the previous night. After the conference with the detective, Mr. Sanford, Col. Scott, Mr. Felton, railroad and telegraph officials, had been sent for, and came to Mr. Judd's room. They occupied nearly the whole of the night in perfecting the plan. It was finally understood that about six o'clock the next evening Mr. Lincoln should slip away from the Jones Hotel, at Harrisburg, in company with a single member of his party. A special car and engine would be provided for him on the track outside the dépôt. All other trains on the road would be "side-tracked" until this one had passed. Mr. Sanford would forward skilled "telegraph-climbers," and see that all the wires leading out of Harrisburg were cut at six o'clock, and kept down until it was known that Mr. Lincoln had reached Washington in safety. The detective would meet Mr. Lincoln at the West Philadelphia dépôt with a carriage, and conduct him by a circuitous route to the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore dépôt. Berths for four would be pre-engaged in the sleeping-car attached to the regular midnight train for Baltimore. This train Mr. Felton would cause to be detained until the conductor should receive a package, containing important "government despatches," addressed to "E. J. Allen, Willard's Hotel, Washington." This package was made up of old newspapers, carefully wrapped and sealed, and delivered to the detective to be used as soon as Mr. Lincoln was lodged in the car. Mr. Lincoln approved of the plan, and signified his readiness to acquiesce. Then Mr. Judd, forgetting the secrecy which the spy had so impressively enjoined, told Mr. Lincoln that the step he was about to take was one of such transcendent importance, that he thought "it should be communicated to the other gentlemen of the party." Mr. Lincoln said, "You can do as you like about that." Mr. Judd now changed his seat; and Mr. Nicolay, whose suspicions seem to have been aroused by this mysterious conference, sat down beside him, and said, "Judd, there is something *up*. What is it, if it is proper that I should know?" — "George," answered Judd, "there is no necessity for your knowing it. One man can keep a matter better than two."

Arrived at Harrisburg, and the public ceremonies and speech-making over, Mr. Lincoln retired to a private parlor in the Jones House; and Mr. Judd summoned to meet him Judge Davis, Col. Lamon, Col. Sumner, Major Hunter, and Capt. Pope. The three latter were officers of the regular army, and had joined the party after it had left Springfield. Judd began the conference by stating the alleged fact of the Baltimore conspiracy, how it was detected, and how it was proposed to thwart it by a midnight expedition to Washington by way of Philadelphia. It was a great surprise to most of those assembled. Col. Sumner was the first to break silence. "That proceeding," said he, "will be a damned piece of cowardice." Mr. Judd considered this a "pointed hit," but replied that "that view of the case had already been presented to Mr. Lincoln." Then there was a general interchange of opinions, which Sumner interrupted by saying, "I'll get a squad of cavalry, sir, and *cut* our way to Washington, sir!" — "Probably before that day comes," said Mr. Judd, "the inauguration day will have passed. It is important that Mr. Lincoln should be in Washington that day." Thus far Judge Davis had expressed no opinion, but "had put various questions to test the truthfulness of the story." He now turned to Mr. Lincoln, and said, "You personally heard the detective's story. You have heard this discussion. What is your judgment in the matter?" — "I have listened," answered Mr. Lincoln, "to this discussion with interest. I see no reason, no good reason, to change the programme: and I am for carrying it out as arranged by Judd." There was no longer any dissent as to the plan itself; but one question still remained to be disposed of. Who should accompany the President on his perilous ride? Mr. Judd again took the lead, declaring that he and Mr. Lincoln had previously determined that but one man ought to go, and that Col. Lamon had been selected as the proper person. To this Sumner violently demurred. "*I* have undertaken," he exclaimed, "to see Mr. Lincoln to Washington."

Mr. Lincoln was hastily dining when a close carriage was

brought to the side-door of the hotel. He was called, hurried to his room, changed his coat and hat, and passed rapidly through the hall and out of the door. As he was stepping into the carriage, it became manifest that Sumner was determined to get in also. "Hurry with him," whispered Judd to Lamon, and at the same time, placing his hand on Sumner's shoulder, said aloud, "One moment, colonel!" Sumner turned around; and, in that moment, the carriage drove rapidly away. "A madder man," says Mr. Judd, "you never saw."

Mr. Lincoln and Col. Lamon got on board the car without discovery or mishap. Besides themselves, there was no one in or about the car but Mr. Lewis, general superintendent of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, and Mr. Franciscus, superintendent of the division over which they were about to pass. As Mr. Lincoln's dress on this occasion has been much discussed, it may be as well to state that he wore a soft, light felt hat, drawn down over his face when it seemed necessary or convenient, and a shawl thrown over his shoulders, and pulled up to assist in disguising his features when passing to and from the carriage. This was all there was of the "Scotch cap and cloak," so widely celebrated in the political literature of the day.

At ten o'clock they reached Philadelphia, and were met by the detective, and one Mr. Kinney, an under-official of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad. Lewis and Franciscus bade Mr. Lincoln adieu. Mr. Lincoln, Col. Lamon, and the detective seated themselves in a carriage, which stood in waiting, and Mr. Kinney got upon the box with the driver. It was a full hour and a half before the Baltimore train was to start; and Mr. Kinney found it necessary "to consume the time by driving northward in search of some imaginary person."

On the way through Philadelphia, Mr. Lincoln told his companions about the message he had received from Mr. Seward. This new discovery was infinitely more appalling than the other. Mr. Seward had been informed "that about *fifteen thousand men* were organized to prevent his (Lincoln's) pas-

[illegible] first arrangements were made [illegible] *railroad track, for the train,* [illegible] circumstances, Mr. Seward [illegible]. He was a plot big enough [illegible] which we are to regard as the [illegible] Mr. F[illegible]'s detective. Hilliard, Fer- [illegible] appears among the "fifteen thou- [illegible] and impotent twaddle about the [illegible] very insignificant beside the bloody [illegible] explosion now foreshadowed.

[illegible] departure of the Baltimore train [illegible] in the dark shadows of the [illegible] considered prudent to approach [illegible] passed in first, and was followed by [illegible]. An agent of the former directed [illegible] car which they entered by the rear door. [illegible] and delivered to the conductor the [illegible] prepared for the purpose: and in three [illegible] was in motion. The tickets for the whole [illegible] demand. Their berths were ready, [illegible] from invasion by the statement, [illegible] a sick man and his attendants. [illegible] arranged very adroitly by the female [illegible] had accompanied her employer from Baltimore to [illegible] to assist him in this the most delicate and [illegible]. Mr. Lincoln got into his bed im- [illegible] were drawn together. When the [illegible] round, the detective handed him the "sick [illegible] the party lay down also. No [illegible] appeared to be sleepy," says the detective; [illegible] quiet, and nothing of importance transpired." "Mr. Lincoln [illegible] lonely," said the woman in her "report," [illegible] that he could not lay straight in his berth." During the night Mr. Lincoln indulged in a joke or two, in an undertone; but, with that exception, the "two sections" occu- pied by them were perfectly silent. The detective said he had men stationed at various places along the road to let him

know "if all was right;" and he rose and went to the platform occasionally to observe their signals, but returned each time with a favorable report.

At thirty minutes after three, the train reached Baltimore. One of the spy's assistants came on board, and informed him "in a whisper that all was right." The woman got out of the car. Mr. Lincoln lay close in his berth; and in a few moments the car was being slowly drawn through the quiet streets of the city toward the Washington dépôt. There again there was another pause, but no sound more alarming than the noise of shifting cars and engines. The passengers, tucked away on their narrow shelves, dozed on as peacefully as if Mr. Lincoln had never been born, until they were awakened by the loud strokes of a huge club against a night-watchman's box, which stood within the dépôt and close to the track. It was an Irishman trying to arouse a sleepy ticket-agent, comfortably ensconced within. For twenty minutes the Irishman pounded the box with ever-increasing vigor, and, at each report of his blows, shouted at the top of his voice, "Captain! it's four o'clock! it's four o'clock!" The Irishman seemed to think that time had ceased to run at four o'clock, and, making no allowance for the period consumed by his futile exercises, repeated to the last his original statement that it was four o'clock. The passengers were intensely amused; and their jokes and laughter at the Irishman's expense were not lost upon the occupants of the "two sections" in the rear. "Mr. Lincoln," says the detective, appeared "to enjoy it very much, and made several witty remarks, showing that he was as full of fun as ever."

In due time the train sped out of the suburbs of Baltimore; and the apprehensions of the President and his friends diminished with each welcome revolution of the wheels. At six o'clock the dome of the Capitol came in sight; and a moment later they rolled into the long, unsightly building, which forms the Washington dépôt. They passed out of the car unobserved, and pushed along with the living stream of men and women toward the outer door. One man alone in the great

[illegible] seemed to watch Mr. Lincoln with special attention. Standing a little on one side, he "looked very sharp at him." [illegible] he [illegible] seized hold of his hand, and said in a loud [illegible] "Abe, you can't play that on me." The detec- [illegible] Col. Lamon were instantly alarmed. One of them [illegible] fist to strike the stranger; but Mr. Lincoln caught [illegible] and said, "Don't strike him! don't strike him! It is Washburne. Don't you know him?" Mr. Seward had given Mr. Washburne a hint of the information received through [illegible] Mr. Washburne knew its value as well as another. [illegible] present, the detective admonished him to keep quiet; [illegible] passed on together. Taking a hack, they drove [illegible] Willards Hotel. Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Washburne, and [illegible] stepped out in the street, and approached the ladies' [illegible] while Col. Lamon drove on to the main entrance, and [illegible] proprietor to meet his distinguished guest at the side [illegible] Minutes later Mr. Seward arrived, and was in- [illegible] company by Mr. Washburne. He spoke in very [illegible] of the great danger which Mr. Lincoln had so [illegible] escaped, and most heartily applauded the wisdom of [illegible] "I informed Gov. Seward of the nature [illegible] I had," says the detective, "and that I had [illegible] any large organization in Baltimore; but the [illegible] that he had conclusive evidence of this." [illegible] apparent that Mr. Lincoln wished to be left [illegible] "[illegible]:" and, upon this inti- [illegible] the detective went to the tele- [illegible] with despatches, containing [illegible] Paris had brought "Nuts" [illegible] cipher the President elect [illegible] of "Nuts."

[illegible] Lincoln's party and suite passed [illegible] intended for him. They [illegible] them alive, or to blow [illegible] their way unmolested and [illegible]

[illegible] the midnight ride. His

friends reproached him, his enemies taunted him. He was convinced that he had committed a grave mistake in yielding to the solicitations of a professional spy and of friends too easily alarmed. He saw that he had fled from a danger purely imaginary, and felt the shame and mortification natural to a brave man under such circumstances. But he was not disposed to take all the responsibility to himself, and frequently upbraided the writer for having aided and assisted him to demean himself at the very moment in all his life when his behavior should have exhibited the utmost dignity and composure.

The news of his surreptitious entry into Washington occasioned much and varied comment throughout the country: but important events followed it in such rapid succession, that its real significance was soon lost sight of. Enough that Mr. Lincoln was safely at the capital, and in a few days would in all probability assume the power confided to his hands.

If before leaving Springfield he had become weary of the pressure upon him for office, he found no respite on his arrival at the focus of political intrigue and corruption. The intervening days before his inauguration were principally occupied in arranging the construction of his Cabinet. He was pretty well determined on this subject before he reached Washington; but in the minds of the public, beyond the generally accepted fact, that Mr. Seward was to be the Premier of the new administration, all was speculation and conjecture. From the circumstances of the case, he was compelled to give patient ear to the representations which were made him in favor of or against various persons or parties, and to hold his final decisions till the last moment, in order that he might decide with a full view of the requirements of public policy and party fealty.

The close of this volume is not the place to enter into a detailed history of the circumstances which attended the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln's administration, nor of the events which signalized the close of Mr. Buchanan's. The

[illegible] former cannot be understood without tracing [illegible] to that of the latter, and both deserve and more im- [illegible] consideration than either has yet received.

[illegible] of March, 1861, at last arrived; and at noon on [illegible] administration of James Buchanan was to come [illegible] that of Abraham Lincoln was to take its place. Mr. Lincoln's feelings, as the hour approached which was to [illegible] greater responsibilities than had fallen upon [illegible] predecessors, may readily be imagined by the [illegible] the foregoing pages. If he saw in his elevation [illegible] towards the fulfilment of that destiny which at [illegible] awaited him, the thought served but to tinge [illegible] almost poetic sadness, the manner in which [illegible] to the solemn duties of the hour.

The morning opened pleasantly. At an early hour he gave [illegible] inaugural address its final revision. Extensive prepara- [illegible] had been made to render the occasion as impressive as [illegible]. By nine o'clock the procession had begun to form, [illegible] o'clock it commenced to move toward Willard's [illegible] Mr. Buchanan was still at the Capitol, signing bills [illegible] term of his office expired. At half-past twelve [illegible] Mr. Lincoln; and, after a delay of a few mo- [illegible] descended, and entered the open barouche in [illegible] them. Shortly after, the procession took up its [illegible] for the Capitol.

[illegible] existed, that possibly some attempt might [illegible] assinate Mr. Lincoln; and accordingly his car- [illegible] escorted by the military and the Com- [illegible] Arrangements. By order of Gen. Scott, troops [illegible] points about the city, as well as on the [illegible] the houses along the route of the procession. [illegible] continued in session till twelve o'clock. [illegible] well-chosen words, bade the sena- [illegible] conducted his successor, Mr. Hamlin. [illegible] members and members elect [illegible] representatives, and the Diplomatic Corps [illegible] At that, [illegible] minutes to one, the Judges

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